Daily Report

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Preliminary Results

Central Electoral Commission Updates Returns

LD1712180393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1635 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Lyudmila Yermakova and Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—A news conference of Central Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov and his colleagues reported today the new fundamental law has been adopted by 32.9 millions of Russian citizens or 58 per cent of the referendum participants.

In the words of Ryabov, this is not the final information and the index may change when protocols from all the 95,000 district electoral commissions are delivered.

ccording to preliminary information, eight electoral coalitions overcame the five per cent limit to get State Duma mandates on the federal list. A total of 190 out of 225 electoral districts have summed up the results and the final data may be different, said commission member Anastasiya Tur (ITAR-TASS received the information this morning).

The Federation Council has been elected, said member of the Central Electoral Commission Viktor Karpunov. Sixty five two-mandate electoral districts have brought protocols on voting results to Moscow; there are 21 districts left. 50 per cent of Federation Council deputies are heads of executive structures, ten per cent are staffers of commercial organizations and enterprise heads, eight percent are scientists and artistic intellectuals and four per cent are representatives of mass media.

A total of 219 candidates have been elected State Duma deputies in one-mandate electoral districts. Six mandates are vacant to be filled during additional elections, stressed commission member Andrey Beloborodov.

It is hard to say what parties the deputies are affiliated to, since each third of them have not announced "who he is". Some ten per cent of one-mandate deputies are women.

Asked who is the oldest deputy to open the first meeting of the State Duma, Ryabov said he has instructed his staffers to check up personal cards of deputies. Still, the answer will be given only after the final chamber composition is known.

The Central Electoral Commission does not have information about bribery of the electors on the part of Zhirinovskiy's party claimed by some mass media bodies.

Party Breakdown in Duma

LD1712194393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1757 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 17 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—ITAR-TASS has received from reliable sources the preliminary results of elections to the State Duma on the federation-wide party lists. The figures below show the percentage of votes per party as they stand at 1815 on 17th December:

Agrarian Party	8.20
Future of Russia-New Names	1.23
Russia's Choice	15.60
Civic Union	2.06
Democratic Party of Russia	5.55
Dignity and Charity	0.73
Women of Russia	8.15
Cedar	0.79
Communist Party	12.38
Liberal Democratic Party	22.90
Party of Russian Unity and Accord	6.69
Russian Movement for Democratic Reform	4.09
Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin	7.26

Altogether 50.14 percent of registered voters have taken part in the election; 4.37 percent of these voted against all the parties; 2.86 percent of ballot papers were deemed void.

These percentages were calculated for 87 regions only, on the basis of preliminary data.

Federation Council Results Announced

LD2012093493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0909 GMT 20 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—170 people were elected to the Federation Council, the upper chamber of the new Russian parliament, in 86 out of 89 two-seat constituencies, according to final results announced by the Central Electoral Commission on Monday [20 December].

In two constituencies (the Moscow region and Yamalo-Nenets area) only one candidate was elected. In three constituencies (in Tatarstan, Chelyabinsk and Chechnya) elections to the Federation Council were not held, according to the final protocol signed by the Commission.

LDPR Still Leading in Duma

LD2012101793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1004 GMT 20 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—The Liberal Democratic Party [of Russia, LDPR] of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy continues to lead elections to the State Duma, the lower house of the new Russian parliament, after preliminary results were specified in 214 out of 225 constituencies on Monday [20 December], but the gap with the Russia's Choice has become a little bit smaller.

Zhirinovskiy's party has secured 23.2 per cent of votes compared to 23.21 per cent on Sunday, according to the Central Electoral commission.

Russia's Choice comes second with 15.74 per cent compared to 15.63 on Sunday.

Communists are third with 11.89 per cent compared to 11.95 on Sunday.

The Agrarian Party lost one per cent and its figure now comprises 7.91.

The Yabloko Bloc of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy had 8.14 per cent on Sunday, but the figure decreased to 7.76 on Monday.

The Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms is far from getting the necessary number of votes to overcome the five per cent hurdle. Its Monday figure was 4.1 per cent.

Member of the Central Electoral Commission Anastasia Tur told TASS that the results provided by some 5,000 regional election commissions out of a total of 95,000 are yet to be analysed. She added that the results in remaining constituencies would hardly change the situation considerably.

Russia's Choice Expected To Get 103 Seats

LD2012104393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1017 GMT 20 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Polyakov]

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—The pro-Yeltsin Russia's Choice bloc is expected to get 103 seats in the State Duma: 41 on a list basis and 62 in first past-the-post constituencies, TASS learned from reliable government sources on Monday [20 December] which added that the data is yet to be confirmed.

The Liberal Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy will have a total of 66 seats (60 plus 6) and the Communist Party—62 (32 plus 30), according to the source.

The Agrarian Party may get 49 seats (21 and 28), the Party of Russian Unity and Accord—29 (17 and 12), the Yabloko Bloc of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy—28 (19 and 9), the Women of Russia—25 (21 and 4), the Democratic Party of Russia—17 (14 and 3), according to the source.

The remaining 70 seats will evidently go to independent candidates.

The Central Electoral Commission told TASS that the results of elections in first past-the-post constituencies may be announced already today as 218 out of 224 protocols have been already processed.

The commission is currently studying reports from hard-of-access areas in Chukotka, Sakhalin Island, the Nenets Autonomous Region, as well as from Ingushetia and Adygeya in the Caucasus. Their analysis will not take much time, the commission believes.

Results Analyzed by Region

LD2012132693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1245 GMT 20 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—Preliminary results of the elections to the Federal Assembly gave a diverse picture of electors' activity and sympathies as they alternated making a choice between party blocs.

Russia's central regions were the most active during elections on December 12: the turnout in the Belgorod region was 64.11 per cent, in the Kaluga region—63.63 per cent; in the Kursk region—64.67 per cent; in the Orlov region—65.67 per cent. About the same turnout was registered in Pskov, Ryazan, Saratov, Tambov, Tver and Tula regions.

In the opinion of a head of a working group on national policies under the Presidential Council, Leonid Smirnyagin, "Russia's central regions are traditionally active in referendums and elections". However, he pointed out that political experts had arrived at the conclusion that "the more conservative the population is, the more active it is."

Assessing the results of the elections from this point of view, the results of the elections were as follows: the same regions gave their votes in favour of the Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP). Zhirinovskiy's party received 32.86 per cent of votes in the Smolensk region; 34,40 per cent in the Tambov region; 30,74 per cent in the Orlov region, 29.86 per cent in the Ryazan region. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy found a niche for himself replacing Aleksandr Rutskoy who did not run for parliament, and shared the victory with the communist bloc.

The "Russia's Choice" reformist bloc received the highest percentage of votes in its favour in Moscow (37.22 per cent) and St. Petersburg (26.25 per cent). These two biggest political centers in Russia incorporating the most educated and qualified strata of the population have always been indicators of Russia's public opinion.

The Perm region followed suit, giving 25.79 per cent of votes to the "Russia's Choice bloc". The Sverdlovsk region—the Russian president's birth place—23.95 per cent. The Arkhangelsk region—22.51 per cent; the Khabarovsk region—20.43 per cent, the Komi region—20,98 per cent; Karelia—20,56 per cent. The Kaliningrad region—19.04 per cent; the Murmansk region—18.4 per cent.

Ingushetia gave the smallest number of votes in favour of the "Russia's Choice bloc"—1.53 per cent; Daghestan—2.03 per cent. Karachayevo-Cherkessia—4.23 per cent. The biggest share of votes in these republics were cast in support of Communists, the Democratic Party of Russia and the LDP.

Analyzing diverse results of elections, Smirnyagin arrived at a positive conclusion that there is no confrontation between regions in Russia. "If the Urals region had come out unequivocally in favour of pro-president forces, and the whole Far East voted against it would have posed a threat to the state's integrity. From the point of view of political geography, the position of regions alternating between party blocs is much more preferable," Smirnyagin said.

Ryabov Comments

LD2012142493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1220 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] On Monday [20 December] the Central Election Commission summed up the official results of elections to the upper house of parliament, the Federation Council, and issued a corresponding resolution. The resolution says that the elections took place at 86 two-mandate districts, where 170 deputies were elected.

One deputy was elected in the Moscow Region two-mandate District No.50 and one in the Yamalo-Nenets two-mandate District No.89. Elections did not take place in Tatarstan, District No.16; in Chelyabinsk, District No.74; and in Chechnya, District No.20. In those districts, run-off elections will be held next March. The exact date for them will be fixed for each district separately, to time parliamentary elections with local ones.

On Monday the Central Election Commission issued a communique on the results of elections to the lower house, the State Duma, in one-mandate districts. The elections took place in 219 one-mandate districts, where 218 deputies were elected. No elections were held in Naberezhniye Chelny, District No.25, because only one candidate had been registered there. There were no elections in the Chechen Republic either. In several other one-mandate districts the elections were recognized as invalid, since less than 25% of the electorate came to the polling stations. Run-off elections will be held there next March, too.

Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Central Election Commission, said at this morning's working session that since the final election returns under the federal lists have not been established yet, a resolution on the elections to the State Duma cannot be issued. According to Ryabov, possible changes will make up only hundredths of one per cent of the vote collected by each of the 8 election associations which surmounted the 5% barrier. When the exact figures are established, the issue of distributing the four remaining mandates between the 8 associations will be settled.

In addition, the Central Election Commission will have to settle the dispute concerning the election of Mikhail Kiselev to the State Duma from a district in St. Petersburg. The local election commission views his election as invalid. In his election documents he stated that his supporter was Russia's Choice, but this was not confirmed officially, the commission explained.

Electoral Commission Announces Constitution Adopted

LD2012092393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] According to an INTERFAX report, the Central Electoral Commission officially announced today that the Russian Constitution is adopted.

A resolution by the Central Electoral Commission states that 54.8 percent of registered voters turned out for the ballot on the draft fundamental law. Of them, 58.4 percent voted for adoption of the Constitution.

Voter Turnout 54.8%

AU2012094093 Paris AFP in English 0919 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Moscow, Dec 20 (AFP) - Russia's electoral commission announced Monday [20 December] the official adoption of the country's new draft constitution, which was backed by almost 60 percent of voters in a December 12 referendum.

Definitive results published Monday by the commission showed the constitution was approved by 58.4 percent of voters and rejected by 41.6 percent.

Some 54.8 percent of the electorate—equivalent to more than 58 million voters—participated in the plebiscite, the commission said.

The commission's statement made no mention of the more than 1.8 million spoiled or blank ballot papers. [passage omitted]

Received 69% Support in Moscow

LD2012113693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1056 GMT 20 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Sugak]

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—The Russian capital with a population of some nine million people boasts the major support to the new Russian Constitution as 69 per cent of its electorate supported the new basic law at the December 12 referendum, Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov said in an address to Muscovites on Monday.

"This most important political campaign was a success," he added.

According to the mayor, 15 candidates from Moscow were elected to the State Duma and two to the Federation Council.

The Moscow duma was also created and 35 lawmakers will work there, according to Luzhkov.

Voting on Constitution, Parliament in Sverdlovsk Analyzed

PM2012150193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 2

[Report on interview with Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Anatoliy Gayda by Vladimir Stakheyev in Yekaterinburg; date not given: "The Urals Are No Vendee! Why Did Yekaterinburg and Oblast Not Support the Constitution?"]

[Text] Yekaterinburg—Sverdlovsk Oblast is one of the biggest oblasts in Russia. At the elections the voting here took place in seven districts. The results showed that the population of the Central Urals did not support the president on the main question—adoption of the new Russian Federation constitution.

The editorial office asked Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Anatoliy Gayda, director of the Russian Academy of Sciences Urals Branch Institute of State and Law, to comment.

"I do not want to make too much of the results of the vote on the draft constitution. According to the preliminary results, 48.7 percent of the total number of voters in the Central Urals participated in the elections. That is, the referendum on the constitution fell less than 1.5 percent short of being deemed valid. But 78 percent of those who went to the polling places 12 December said yes to the new constitution. I do not think there are many regions in Russia with such a vast population where the percentage of supporters of the new constitution was so high. Incidentally, in the Central Urals 'Russia's Choice,' as expected, far outstripped all the other blocs and movements, capturing 22.5 percent of the vote.

"Let us not forget that Sverdlovsk Oblast not only has the second biggest industrial potential in Russia after Moscow, but is also the president's home. In this connection one might recall the 25 April 1993 referendum of confidence in the president. The Central Urals, together with Moscow and St. Petersburg, decisively tipped the scales in favor of confidence in Boris Nikolayevich.

"So what happened on 12 December? According to repeated surveys by our Institute of State and Law and at least a dozen other sociological sectors and laboratories in Yekaterinburg, 80 percent of the population of the Central Urals had not even read the draft Constitution. And, to be perfectly honest, how many of the remaining 15-20 percent had really comprehended its articles and provisions? A rhetorical question, I believe.

"One must not ignore the fact that it simply could not have been any other way. The draft, published 10 November, was largely pushed into the background by the election battle among the blocs and movements. The people were also essentially unable to exercise much influence on the constitutional process. The draft was presented as a kind of accomplished fact, and the inhabitants of the Central Urals, a region of high cultural and scientific-technical standards, unequivocally expressed their bewilderment in connection with this.

"You would certainly not compare the oblast to the Vendee over this period of years. For example, the 'reserve government,' headed by Oleg Lobov, was here during the August 1991 events. The Yekaterinburg oblast and city soviets and administration head Eduard Rossel have been consistently implementing democratic transformations in recent years. The proclamation of the Ural Republic messed everything up. The assessment of it is well known. You might say the Central Urals 'took offense' at what its compatriot, the president, did when he dealt so severely with the authorities in his native region. In April, 83 percent of the oblast's inhabitants voted for the Ural Republic, while 60 percent voted for Eduard Rossel at the Federal Assembly elections.

"The potential for democratic reforms remains high in the Central Urals. And when you consider its contribution to the common Russian pot, the region deserves fairer treatment. People in the Urals see little support from the center at the moment. That was a factor."

Results Announced in Kabardino-Balkaria

MK1712140093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 3

[Unattributed NEGA report in the "Kabardino-Balkaria" column]

[Text] The republic's Central Election Commission has announced the results of the 12 December elections to the two chambers of parliament—the Council of the Republic and the Council of Representatives. Commenting on the election returns, Mukhamadin Tumov, acting chairman of the Kabardin People's Congress [KPC], stated that none of the candidates representing the KPC and other Kabardin public and political organizations has won a seat in the Kabardino-Balkar parliament: "This is primarily the result of the fact that the executive power structures have done everything to prevent our candidates from becoming parliamentarians."

M. Tumov said that on 25 December a session of the KPC Supreme Soviet will be held to consider the election returns.

Vote Counting Rules Changed in Yakutia

LD1712164293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1439 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] According to Yakutia's Electoral Commission, only 12 of the 56 would-be lawmakers were chosen at elections to the state Legislature on December 12. Because of this, President Mikhail Nikolayev of Yakutia (a republic within the Russian Federation) has issued a decree, liberalizing the vote counting procedure. A lawmaker will be considered elected, if he gets a simple majority rather than needing over 50 percent of the votes, as the election statute requires. Elections will be regarded valid, if one fourth of the electorate casts their vote, the election statute demands one half.

Forty constituencies in the republic are to hold run-off elections by the end of this year.

Voting Pattern in North Ossetia Analyzed

PM2012124393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Alan Kasayev: "Hope and Despair. What Made the Majority of Voters in North Ossetia Vote for the Opposition"]

[Text] First, the figures. We were told at the North Ossetia Central Electoral Commission that the votes were distributed as follows. In first place among the parties, blocs, and associations is the list of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, for which 33.3 percent of the voters voted. Second is the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia,

which got 15.9 percent of the votes. "Russia's Choice" is in third place with 7.1 percent. The Party of Russian Unity and Accord got 5.5 percent of the vote.

Nonetheless, the conclusion drawn in the pages of the newspaper SEGODNYA that the Republic of North Ossetia is a traditional bastion of communism is highly superficial and apocryphal. There is a different explanation. Lev Dzugayev, director of the North Ossetia Institute of Humanitarian Research, told your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent that, in the conditions of extreme instability, due in particular to the contradictory and inconsistent policy of the interim administration, the State Committee for Federation and Nationalities Affairs, and other federal structures, the population is seeking an alternative that might provide some future at least. Back in the spring nearly everyone saw the president and government as such a force, and this was confirmed by the results of the April referendum, when President Yeltsin obtained the people's mandate in Ossetia as well. But the situation has not improved since then either in relation to the problem of Prigorodnyy Rayon or with regard to the problem of South Ossetia.

Nearly 40,000 refugees from South Ossetia and areas within Georgia are now utterly desperate and have lost virtually all hope of a better life, and in recent months they have found themselves without the means to exist. The federal budget has practically ceased to provide funds to keep them in North Ossetia sanatoriums and tourist centers. According to sociologists, these people constituted the bulk of the potential Communist and Zhironovskiy party voters.

But the local sociological center was warning "Russia's Choice" analysts a month ago of this election outcome. Nonetheless, no changes were made either to government policy or to the "Russia's Choice" election campaign.

As is known, the first political document to come from the Russian president since the 12 December elections is the edict on settling refugees and temporary settlers in North Ossetia and Ingushetia in permanent abodes. The edict confirms the territorial integrity of North Ossetia and decrees the start of settling the aforementioned categories of citizens in population centers with a high concentration of permanent residents in Prigorodnyy Rayon, North Ossetia—Chermen, Dongaron, Dachnoye, Kurtat. The edict stems from two decisions by the Russian Security Council and also from statements by the president at a meeting with the heads of North Cacuasus republics, krays, and oblasts in Nalchik last week.

This edict will obviously be difficult to implement. How do you provide the Ingush settlers and the members of other nationalities living on this territory with the necessary security guarantees? There has been a deterioration in the sociopolitical situation in North Ossetia, where the leadership is not ruling out the possibility of protest rallies against the possible hasty implementation of the edict. An appeal to President Yeltsin was adopted at sessions of the republic Security Council and North Ossetia Supreme Soviet Presidium in Vladikavkaz, asking him to prevent the forcible implementation of the edict's provision on the settling of refugees and temporary settlers. In an interview with your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent, Aleksandr Dzasokhov, who has been elected to the State Duma, said that he regards the point in the edict containing confirmation of the republic's territorial integrity as the main one.

Arbitration Court Finds Rules on Violations

LD1712140893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1328 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—Legal requirements and ethic norms were violated by the press and candidates at the last stage of the election campaign. This conclusion is recorded in a ruling adopted by a meeting of the Arbitration Court on Friday [17 December].

The ruling notes that government officials actively participated in electioneering, making pronouncements which smeared candidates. Such cases were recorded in the Kirov region, Lipetsk and Zlatoust.

Newspapers in Krasnoyarsk, Orenburg, Altai as well as Moscow- based SMENA and SEGODNYA disregarded a ban on printing the results of public polls ten days before the election day.

Two St. Petersburg newspapers and three Moscow-headquartered newspapers broke a ban on publishing information (at the last stage of the election campaign) smearing candidates. The showing of the "Hawk" film on December 11 by the Ostankino TV and Radio Company was also called as unlawful.

In the opinion of the Arbitration Court, some violations were of "odious nature". For instance, a candidate running in the 145th constituency, the Rostov region, printed an announcement in a local newspaper, saying that if he wins, the voters would become lottery participants.

Cars and even a flat in the city of Rostov-on-Don were offered for winning tickets. Information on this affair was handed over by the Arbitration Court to the prosecutor's office in the Rostov region.

The court continues work to examine all mailed applications. Its chairman Anatoliy Vengerov said in an interview with ITAR-TASS on Friday that many violations had not been examined quickly, since most regions had not set up councils on the mass media at local electoral commissions.

In Vengerov's opinion, these violations should be thoroughly examined due to the following reasons: First, their examination will help avoid mistakes in future election campaigns.

And what's the main thing, the Central Electoral Commission and the Credentials Commission will learn about the above violations, and they will be taken into account when powers of elected candidates are approved.

Further on Court Ruling

LD1712193293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1543 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 17—We continue our report on the Russian Court of Arbitration's ruling concerning infringements of campaign legislation.

On December 7, 1993, presidential representative for Kirov region B. Sumarokov, speaking on Vyatka television, accused candidate for deputy (93 electoral district) V. Korniiov of committing a crime, basing his accusation on some "case materials", and not on a court's ruling. In addition, V. Sumarokov knew that the campaign legislation forbid such statements, but ignored those rules. Chairman of the tele-radio company Vyatka Yu. Lusnikov also knew of this, and virtually sanctioned V. Sumarokov's statement.

Judge of the Soviet regional peoples' court in the town of Lipetsk, T. Leonova, in violation of Article 26 of the provisions for the 1993 elections to the State Duma, which were confirmed by decree 1557 of the president of the Russian Federation (Nov. 1, 1993), virtually took part in electioneering on behalf of one of the candidates for deputy, appearing in the local press ("LIPETSKAY GAZETA", Dec. 12, 1992) and on regional radio (Dec. 9, 1993), with a statement about the suit which she took under consideration concerning the defence of the honor and dignity of that candidate.

The Independent Television Company (town of Zlatoust), together with V.P. Maltseva, the head of the city administration, also violated the provisions for the 1993 elections to the State Duma (Article 26, part 2), on live television December 9, 1993. When asked by the program host: "Who are you going to vote for?", Maltsev answered that he is going to vote for A.E. Karpov and then continued to justify his decision to vote for that candidate.

Despite the ban on printing the results of public opinion surveys during the ten days preceding the election and on election day itself, the editorial boards of several newspapers ignored those rules.

Prosecutor General To Examine Statements

LD1712195193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] The Russian Prosecutor General's office is examining particular pre-election statements in the media made by candidates to the Federal Assembly—by Liberal Democratic Party leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, TV reporter Aleksander Neverov, film director Stanislav Govorukhin, and several others. This was announced to INTERFAX by the prosecutor general's office's center for information and public relations on Friday [17 December]. The mass media arbitration court has demanded that the prosecutor's office give an evaluation of their statements from a juridical point of view.

The special group established by the prosecutor general's office to see that the law on elections be observed said there had been a deviation from the current law on elections reported. Criminal proceedings were instigated on several incidents. For instance, the incident in the Yaroslav region's city of Rybinsk, where active members of the Russian Christian Democratic Party had forged bulletins, is being investigated. There are criminal proceedings being initiated in Saratov on offensive actions against candidate for deputy Lysenko. The investigations into the assassination of candidate to the Federation Council, former Dagestan Trade Minister Gajiev, continue.

The Russian General Prosecutor's office is to control the investigations.

Official, Regional Reaction

Chernomyrdin Discusses Elections, Impact on Reform

PM2012112393 Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Dec 93 Evening Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin by Vitaliy Golovachev; place and date not given: "Viktor Chernomyrdin: 'We Must Not Blame the People but Admit Our Own Mistakes'"]

[Text] Following the initial shock caused by the unexpected election results, which radically changed the correlation of political forces in the country, a period of interpretation of what happened and analysis of the reasons is beginning. It is important to determine how to implement the reforms under the new conditions, how to move forward. Naturally attention is largely being focused on the government, which is the main driving force of the reforms, and those standing at the helm. What reaction to the new realities has there been here? How serious is the democratic forces' defeat being taken? How are developments being predicted? We wanted to obtain answers to these and other "hot" questions from the top man in the Russian Government—Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin.

But, as it happened, our conversation began with a completely different subject. The Council of Ministers chairman talked about letters he has received from Russian people recently, including reactions to the interview with him published in TRUD last month. In their letters people share their thoughts about life today and express their views, assessments, advice.... "These small handwritten pages are very important for me," Viktor Stepanovich notes. An engineer, farmer, doctor, or worker tells me what's on his mind and talks confidentially about everything with a sincere wish to help his country. I am grateful to them. And I'm not just saying this for form's sake, I am indeed very grateful for their trust and sincerity, for everything, including both their constructive and committed criticism and their moral support. You know, these letters—what can I compare them with?—are like...a breath of fresh air among the flood of official papers."

As the premier was talking I could see an astonishing change in his expression. I had not imagined that he could

be like this—opening his heart and showing emotion.... But it did not last for long—an aide came in with an urgent document. And it was signed by the premier we are used to seeing—decisive, almost abrupt, confident, accustomed to taking the responsibility for tackling highly important matters of state....

[Golovachev] Viktor Stepanovich, your opponents say that the results of the vote testify to a loss of confidence in the government on the part of Russian people. Do you agree that the government lost these elections?

[Chernomyrdin] I would put it like this: It was not the government that lost, it was members of the government. Each of them started acting on his own behalf, joining various political blocs. And the blocs have their own programs, their own objectives, their own promises.... So you can imagine the situation the voters found themselves in. Who should they vote for? Bloc after bloc included members of the government, and not just members of the government but vice premiers. Who of them fully reflects the government's position; who are you supposed to support? It's difficult to work all these things out. People were confused and perplexed, which could not fail to have an impact on the election results, of course.

But that is only one side of the coin. There is also another side. It would be a great mistake to explain the opposition's victory in the elections solely in terms of the di[illegible] of the democratic blocs or the "immaturity" of the [illegible] "The people are wrong; the people don't understan[illegible] people haven't 'grown up'; they people have 'lumpen' attitudes...." I resolutely reject such explanations. A person votes the way he votes; that is his right. We must not blame the people but face up to and honestly admit our own mistakes and miscalculations. In the final analysis we have government for the people, not vice versa. And, looking the truth squarely in the face, we would acknowledge that maybe many people voted not so much for a given specific platform as against the hardships and costs of the reforms which are being implemented.

That's why, when people say that so-and-so won, I look at the situation from a different angle, namely that we lost. Do you understand me? What concerns me today is not the fact that somebody won but the reasons why we lost. Our opponents' populist promises, which were known in advance to be untenable (you remember how "vodka will be cheap from 13 December"; but where's this cheap vodka?) also had an impact, of course. But another factor—the weakening of the social base of the reforms—was much more important.

There are 35 million Russians living below the poverty line—these alone account for a potential 30 percent of "anti" votes. It is plain that a decline in living standards was inevitable. Such large-scale reforms (we essentially changed the system in order to get away from an inefficient economy) cannot be implemented painlessly. It was just impossible to prevent a collapse. But the scale of the decline, the way the collapse happened, the extent to which the population's life has deteriorated is another matter. Was it necessary to allow all this to happen?...

[Golovachev] What do you think—was it necessary to allow all this to happen?

[Chernomyrdin] Let me say quite definitely and unequivocally: No, it was not necessary. From the very beginning people did not think through in depth everything connected with the reforms. Although reform itself, I repeat, was extremely necessary. And the decision to implement it was the right thing to do, a great thing to do. But it also true that we made serious miscalculations; we failed to think about the future, about the people for whose sake the reforms were initiated. This is where the main mistake lies. I was saying this a year and a half ago and even before that, and I reiterate today: You can't leap before you look, as was done in January 1992. Russia isn't a little country, it's not the Netherlands or Denmark, unconsidered experiments are extremely dangerous here.... Today we are paying for the mistakes we made.

[Golovachev] You became head of government a year ago. When you came in in 1992, you stated straight away: "'No more 'shocks.'" And indeed there were no more shocks, but we now have 35 million Russians living below the poverty line. I wish to say that, on the one hand, you would appear not to be responsible for past miscalculations...

[Chernomyrdin] What's that got to do with anything? As premier I am responsible for everything. I carry the responsibility for the entire course of the reforms. What is necessary today is not to castigate those who began this great cause but, having calmly analyzed the course of the reforms and the mistakes that have been made, to draw conclusions and determine how to move on from here. Of course, any "shock" methods for the future must be completely ruled out.

[Golovachev] Are you upset by the democrats' defeat in the elections?

[Chernomyrdin] Of course I am, very much so. And I don't shirk my share of the responsibility. For example, some things weren't worked through properly, some things weren't explained properly, our policy wasn't made comprehensible to everyone, and we didn't manage to ease or lessen the burden of the reforms.

[Golovachev] Will there be changes in the government in connection with the election results

[Chernomyrdin] What connection is there here? The elections were to the Federal Assembly; what do they have to do with the government?

[Golovachev] What do you mean? "Russia's Choice," which has three vice premiers—Gaydar, Chubays, and Fedorov,—in it, suffered a serious defeat.

[Chernomyrdin] An election defeat is a personal assessment of the activity of, say, Gaydar, but not as a representative of the whole government but as the person responsible for the Ministry of Economics. And likewise in terms of Chubays, it's a personal verdict, even though he is a

deputy premier and a minister. They are the ones who should be thinking about things. And they have something to think about....

[Golovachev] All the same, will there be changes in the government—irrespective of the Federal Assembly elections?

[Chernomyrdin] There will be. This is a normal and natural process, and I stress once again that this is not linked to the elections.

[Golovachev] And if parties which garnered large numbers of votes demand that their representatives be brought into the government?

[Chernomyrdin] I would ask them to read the constitution....

[Golovachev] But maybe your opponents could have interesting programs or proposals....

[Chernomyrdin] That's a completely different matter. I have said for a long time on many occasions (irrespective of elections): If somebody has a specific program or sensible proposals, come and talk to us, we are open to everyone. Everything which could help the cause of reforms will be adopted.

[Golovachev] And might the author of the program be included in the government?

[Chernomyrdin] Of course. But only if he knows how to implement his proposals. In any event we will take all the best things published in the programs of the various parties and blocs. We will use everything that can be used (irrespective of who it comes from).

[Golovachev] Do you not admit the possibility that the president might decide to form a new government?

[Chernomyrdin] The president alone decides that.

[Golovachev] And if such a decision is adopted and Boris Nikolayevich tasks you with forming and heading a new government, would you agree?

[Chernomyrdin] There can be no doubt about it.

[Golovachev] Will the election results affect the modification of the policy of reforms?

[Chernomyrdin] Certainly. What is actually involved is not a change of policy but an amplification of tactics. Take for example the tough financial, credit, and monetary policy. It has proved worth while. Inflation dropped to 16 percent in November (last fall and winter prices increased 25-30 percent a month) and the state budget deficit will not exceed 10 percent (it was 30 percent in 1991). In other words, the tough monetary policy has played its part. We have achieved the effect which could have been achieved. The financial stabilization mechanism is in operation. Therefore, no further "additions" are to be expected in this regard.

Investments and production are coming to the forefront now. This is where the main emphasis in the implementation of reforms is shifting. The most important task, the paramount task is to overcome the negative trends, halt the slump in production, and start boosting it. Boosting it, moreover, on a qualitatively different basis.

We are not talking about boosting the output of unnecessary production—obsolete machine tools and machinery which are not in demand, mass consumer goods which cannot withstand the competition of foreign-made goods, and so on. No, we do not need this kind of junk. What we need is modern output in line with world standards. This, in turn, needs sensible managers and an effective management system, it needs new capacities to replace the existing antediluvian ones. This will be the main target for the application of efforts—investing resources in the creation of new capacities (plants, shops, production units) and the latest technologies.

All available resources, everything that we have, everything that we can manage to earn and save must be channeled not into "devouring" or into limousines and red carpets, it must not be dispersed among hundreds of programs, it must be channeled into investments. It msut not go into patching up dilapidated plants, throwing money into a bottomless pit, but into creating new industry. As for the old and unnecessary enterprises—bulldoze them. Promising plants should be modernized.

This is how Germany, Japan, and other countries rebuilt their industry after the war. They created plants from the ruins, fitted them with modern equipment, and utilized the latest technologies. This ensured a breakthrough in the development of industry and the economy and laid the foundations for future success. Even though we do not have any ruins in our economy, we do have quite a few obsolete and outdated plants. The bulk of modern enterprises are in the military-industrial complex and they must also be converted. In other words, life itself has brought us to the point where we need to implement an industrial revolution.

We are opening wide the doors to investments, both for our domestic investors and for foreign capital, from nearby and more distant countries alike. The state will create the most favorable conditions possible. Bearing in mind that next year's monthly inflation rate will stand at 10-11 percent, and will subsequently drop to 3-5 percent, investment in the Russian economy will be something very profitable. As a matter of fact, capital is already flowing into Russia—not flowing but actually flooding in. I foresee a real boom here very soon, when the package of relevant laws is adopted. Of course the state will also get involved in investments, borrowing money from the bank. All this will mean a large-scale structural restructuring. It will take, of course, several years. But the slump in production will be replaced by a boost already in 1994. The two years of reforms have created the necessary preconditions for this.

[Golovachev] Nonetheless, the indebtedness of enterprises in industry, the construction industry, transportation, and agriculture amounted to about 40 trillion rubles [R] as of 1

November (against R32 trillion a month ago), while deferred debts amounted to R10.5 trillion (against about R8 trillion a month ago). Will reciprocal settlements take place?

[Chernomyrdin] First of all let me say that the present amount of deferred debts is only a fraction of what it was in, for example, November last year. This is particularly well illustrated by the charts—the picture is dramatically different. But the present level of indebtedness still remains one of our sore points. This is largely due to nonpayments by nearby foreign countries for output already shipped. A serious problem. We intend to lend R400 billion to these countries in the near future so that they can pay Russian enterprises for their output. Let me emphasize that this will be a loan, a repayable loan, and not a gift of money in the form of technical credits, as we used to do in the past.

As for a general reciprocal settlement, no such thing will happen. You know, some enterprise directors are only too happy to ship their obsolete and uncompetitive output to consumers who are obviously unable to pay. They hope that "something will happen": Either the state will help, or someone else will suddenly foot the bill.... But something else is at issue here. Such directors are reluctant to modernize production, update their output, engage in marketing.... Why take on all these extra headaches? So, they look for any customer, even though he may not have money. They pay their workers just pennies, send them on enforced leave for a month or two.... As long as there are no headaches, they'll survive somehow, something will turn up.... These are timeservers, they are not proper managers. They are always shouting: "People owe me money...." But they keep silent about the fact that their plant is producing all kind of junk. We should get rid of such people without any delay. They are applying the brakes on reforms today. We should bring in sensible and skilled managers. Thank God we have plenty of them in Russia. Our land is not short of talent. Quite a few plants are already on their way up.

[Golovachev] But there are also some promising enterprises which owe money....

[Chernomyrdin] Yes, and we will help out any plants that are on the right track. The implementation of reciprocal settlements is not ruled out.

[Golovachev] Does the government intend to step up the social policy?

[Chernomyrdin] Of course. And the transition to powerful injections of investments is an important step in this direction. This would mean creating new jobs, rescuing sinking but promising enterprises, and therefore raising their workers' wages. But this is just one aspect. On the whole, significantly more attention will be given to the social sphere and the solution of specific questions there.

The country, which was militarized and whose military might made the whole world shudder, is now switching to the tracks of civilian output. Can you imagine what a break with the past this is? This is why it is difficult. But all this will repay itself a hundredfold, it will yield a vast return in the future. Many positive trends are already clearly visible. Housing construction this year was higher than last year. Individual construction work is developing at a fast pace—despite the current high costs. Living standards have stabilized on the whole (although about one-fourth of the population find life very hard). More goods are being purchased, including expensive items like television sets, refrigerators, and radio receivers. A comparison of sales levels during this year's fall months against last January shows quite a sizeable growth—they have almost doubled.

We are, of course, still far from prosperity. I, for example, am not using the term "consumer boom" which specialists use because this would annoy many Russians experiencing considerable material difficulties. But trends are still the main point. They are certain acquiring a positive hue.

[Golovachev] These trends emerge primarily in analysis centers. For example, I noticed that one of the reports prepared by analysts claims that this year's wage growth rate is outpacing price increases. But a simple statistical calculation shows that the average wage has increased by a factor of 6.53, while prices increased by a factor of 8.7. Do you trust the reports prepared by government analysts?

[Chernomyrdin] Let me say this straight away: No, I don't trust them, generally speaking no figures at all should be completely trusted. I have been a director and I know very well how one can "play with" figures. This is why we check and recheck all data, take data from different sources, compare....

[Golovachev] Health care is one of the acutest social problems. Medicines are in short supply. People have to pay for many operations today, and no operations are done at the free hospitals. People are dying without the benefit of medical assistance. What do you think about this?

[Chernomyrdin] There is no room for disagreement here. The state must do everything possible, without sparing any resources, to help people and ensure that medicines can be bought at pharmacies and, furthermore, that everyone can afford them. Medicines are more important than bread even. We will attract all possible resources to ensure that there is no famine of medicines in the country. It is well known, moreover, that there is a procedure laying down who should receive subsidized medicines, who should receive them free, and so on.

Energetic measures are being taken now to organize the production of medicines in Russia. (Previously we used to receive many of them from the Union republics.) The government's attention is constantly focused on this question.

As for complex operations at specialized clinics, a lot here is subject to the limitations of their small throughput capacity. There are also financial problems. Nonetheless, we are working on ways to guarantee the provision of vitally important medical assistance to all Russian citizens.

In conclusion, I would like to reemphasize that social orientation in the implementation of reforms and the stepping up of social policy are the main aspect of our government's work. I hope that everyone who really wishes his country's good and thinks of its future, all healthy forces will rally to boost the economy and launch Russia into its proper orbit. I have no doubt that Russia has been and will remain a great power.

Kozyrev Cited on Changes in Foreign Policy

PM2012125593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Leonid Mlechin report: "Minister Kozyrev Promises Changes to Moscow's Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Andrey Kozyrev, elected a State Duma deputy from Murmansk, has stated that he will not allow any of Russia's nearer or further-flung neighbors to exploit the Zhirinovskiy factor. There will be changes to Moscow's foreign policy, but these will not be to please Zhirinovskiy—they will be because it is necessary to take account of the problems that came to light during the election and the mood of the people.

The minister is assuming that the Baltic and East Europe will cite Zhirinovskiy's success to demand, on the one hand, the immediate withdrawal of Russian troops, and, on the other, their rapid acceptance into NATO. Kozyrev stated that he would rather raise the question of halting the troop withdrawal from Latvia and Estonia until disputes are settled than give in to this speculation.

The three Baltic governments should not demand any concessions from Russia, but should work with Russia to improve the position of the Russian-speaking population and thereby deprive Zhirinovskiy of his social base.... If this does not happen, Moscow's stance will be toughened.

Having become convinced during the election campaign that it is necessary to talk to the people, the minister has been willingly meeting with journalists recently. Kozyrev is simultaneously sending a signal to the West that Moscow's policy is made by the president, not the Duma.

"The president is in place, and that is fortunate, because his presence in the Kremlin precludes the appearance of blackshirts in the streets. The democrats have two years to prepare for the presidential elections."

When Andrey Kozyrev—one of the first Yeltsin ministers—was attacked by parliament just over a year ago and there were rumors that he might resign, he came up with an unexpected and bold response. The cautious diplomat suddenly intervened in domestic policy and immediately took up a notable position on the radical flank of the Yeltsin camp (Poltoranin, Burbulis). Kozyrev, one of the leaders of "Russia's Choice," sensibly refused to be included on the party list and now feels better than his bloc comrades.

Kozyrev is prepared to play internal political games. The Foreign Ministry Collegium has already adopted a plan for working with the Federal Assembly. Kozyrev intends to show that pseudopatriotic rhetoric will harm Russia and only exacerbate the position of the Russian-speaking minority in neighboring republics. He knows that professional patriots, not wishing to deal seriously with anything, are incapable of competing with him in a serious discussion on how to help these people and what amendments ought to be made to the dual citizenship legislation.

Kozyrev is ironic about certain colleagues who go to America to draw up economic programs for Russia, and about Vladimir Lukin, the ambassador to the United States, who is part of the Yavlinskiy bloc and, essentially, outside the reformist camp.

Kozyrev notes offhandedly:

"I told Serezha (Shakhray) and Grigoriy (Yavlinskiy): You can set up your own parties for the presidential election, guys, but let's form a united front just now...."

Kozyrev appeals to the Communist Party: If you are really Communists, you should join us in opposing Zhirinovskiy. The self-styled patriot Zhirinovskiy is prepared to all intents and purposes to abandon Kaliningrad to the Germans, even though nobody in Germany itself is making any such demand.

Kozyrev's positions in the government have strengthened of late. There is no Vice President Rutskoy, who took an interest in foreign policy. There is no Security Council Secretary Yuriy Skokov, who had tried to crush the Foreign Ministry. Viktor Chernomyrdin and Oleg Lobov, the new Security Council secretary, have no particular interest in foreign affairs.

And even the Security Council itself is no competition following the recent reorganization of the Foreign Ministry. This is all the more so as the Security Council's Foreign Policy Commission should, under standing orders, be headed by a Foreign Ministry representative. Sergey Stankevich, a presidential adviser who was unhappy about the Foreign Ministry line on the former Soviet republics, has resigned. Yeltsin's adviser on international affairs—Dmitriy Ryurikov—is a Kozyrev man and emphatically low-key.

Strategic Direction To Remain

PM2012131593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Dec 93 pp 1, 2

[Vladimir Urban report: "A. Kozyrev's Meeting With Journalists"]

[Text] The main surprise to emerge from the 12 December elections is known. But the questions of "Who won?" and "Who lost?" have not yet been eliminated. Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who, representing the "Russia's Choice" bloc, himself won the State Duma elections in the single-seat district of Murmansk Oblast, was one of the first to try to find answers to them at a meeting with journalists.

To begin with, naturally enough, he was asked whether the country's foreign policy will be altered following the elections. Foreign policy is primarily a presidential policy and, as such, Kozyrev noted, the strategic direction will remain as before, especially as the vote for the constitution was in point of fact further confirmation of Boris Yeltsin's mandate.

In short, the minister believes that there are no serious reasons for altering the course of foreign policy right now. Only when the composition of the Federal Assembly's chambers has been determined and they finally begin work will it be possible to define parliament's influence in the country. During the election campaign candidates did not in practice, with the exception of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, call for a change in our policy.

Having brought the conversation round to the "Zhirinovskiy factor," the minister did not conceal the fact that there are forces in nearby and distant foreign countries which, proceeding from their own corporate interests, will try to exploit this. But, in Kozyrev's opinion, the initial "gaudy, headline-hitting shock" is already over. The success of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] should not be exaggerated: After all, 25 percent of one-half of the Duma's composition constitutes in all just one-eighth of the share of seats. We know these results now, and it is far from a catastrophe. Furthermore, apart from the party's leader, we do not yet know what kind of people have entered parliament from the LDPR.

Answering a question from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent on the progress of the talks process with Latvia and Estonia, the minister pointed out in particular that the "element of concern which we ourselves are experiencing has appeared in these countries too, although their approaches also contain an element of speculation." After all, it is highly convenient to refer to Zhirinovskiy while calling for the withdrawal of our Army without any kind of agreements. And I, Kozyrev went on, cannot agree with this, and I will continue, just as I have done in the past, to insist on a solution to the fate of our military pensioners living in the Baltic countries, and on Russia's troops leaving Estonia and Latvia only on the basis of agreements. And for the time being it cannot be ruled out, he added, that I myself will speak out in favor of extending the deadline for withdrawing the troops—not because I want to please Zhirinovskiy, but because this is how the Balts are behaving at the talks.

As for the situation within the "Russia's Choice" bloc, Kozyrev declared, there is no need for any hasty decisions. Indeed, "Russia's Choice" itself has opted to pause "for inner reflection" although, in the wake of the election campaign, all conclusions are obvious.

It is characteristic that in Murmansk Oblast, where Kozyrev was elected to the Duma, it was the LDPR which won on the party lists. It is precisely this which demands more serious interpretation, the minister said—far weightier than the slogan "The Brownshirts Are In!" It is most likely that people voted against something. So against what? Perhaps against "Russia's Choice" to some extent. I believe, he noted, that it would be even more accurate to assume they voted against the complacency of the authorities.

Even my friend Gaydar failed to explain calmly and comprehensibly what the government wants. After all, as the experience of my election campaign shows, the minister stressed, people do not want to hear lectures—they want to get an accurate idea of what is going on in the country. "Russia's Choice" did not do this. But events like the "ringing in of the new political year" were going on almost incessantly. Obviously people got irritated. In many ways this explains the "Zhirinovskiy boom." The election results, in Kozyrev's opinion, remind us once again that (and here he cited a sentence from a newspaper) the democrats "rested on their laurels."

The minister went on to explain that all this corroborates his previous actions, particularly why he was so insistent and held out for preventing the organization of presidential elections simultaneously with parliamentary elections. This may sound cynical, Kozyrev concluded, but the current situation offers an opportunity to remove the growth without causing the whole of Russia to fester.

Kozyrev Visits Murmansk

LD1712213893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1843 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vasiliy Belousov, Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Murmansk December 17 TASS—A Murmansk visit of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev began with a meeting at the local administration. Kozyrev has been elected State Duma deputy by Murmansk residents and came to the city to receive his deputy mandate, meet the electors and thank them for their confidence.

"The elections are the beginning of my relations with Murmansk residents. I must prove what I can do as a deputy within the two years of my office," the minister told ITAR-TASS.

"Murmansk administration head Yevgeniy Komarov and I began negotiations in Moscow back on Thursday. We discussed the soonest solution to the most acute problems: the fishing fleet, timely payment of salaries to the military, as well as the short-time (for two years) and long-term (five-ten years) programs of regional development.

"We also specified the most promising economic branches of the Kola peninsula, whose development can improve life of local residents. At my Saturday meeting with German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel I will discuss the participation of our foreign partners in development of the Kola region," said Kozyrev.

Kozyrev also met businessmen and producers of the Murmansk region and the electors.

The minister told correspondents he will do his best to achieve the adoption of a comprehensive state program for

development of the north. "I would do that regardless my election state Duma deputy," stressed Andrey Kozyrev.

Late at night Kozyrev left Murmansk for Moscow.

Soskovets Interviewed on Results, Economy

PM1712105593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 17 Dec 93 pp 1-2

[Interview with First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets by Igor Petrov on 14 December; place not given: "Oleg Soskovets: Politics Depend on the Economy"]

[Text] We had been trying to arrange this meeting with First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets for a long time, but somehow it was never possible: Now the vice premier was touring the regions, now he was holding talks with foreign delegations, now conferences with leaders of industrial enterprises.

At last this interview was squeezed in: In one hour's time Oleg Soskovets was to chair a session of the Council of Ministers Commission on Current Issues.

[Petrov] Oleg Nikolayevich! I will start with a question that is traditional today: How do you assess the results of these elections? Do you not regret the fact that, together with a large group of industrialists, you refused to participate in them? That could have had a substantial influence on the composition of parliament....

[Soskovets] This is not a new question. I believe that this is my final answer on this subject, and so I will speak at somewhat greater length.

First, the situation should not be dramatized. Yes, the success of the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] and of some others was the chief sensation of Russia's first democratic elections. Commentaries on this recognize the temptation to reduce the problem to failures of propaganda, to bad organization of one side's election campaign, and good organization of the other side's. All this was so, but all this only partly explains what happened. However mighty the mass media are now, particularly the so-called electronic media, they cannot overcome people's personal impressions of life around them. If someone is having a hard time, for example, politicians will not convince him that things are going well for him.

I look with optimism at the results of the elections and the referendum, because a new constitution has been adopted which gives broad democratic powers to the president as the guarantor of stability.

As regards the success of the LDPR and the Communists, we must all draw lessons from the election results and, probably, take a close look at the slogans of Zhirinovskiy, Zyuganov, and other opponents which reflect the quite definite sentiments of a considerable number of Russians.

I believe that the majority in the new parliament will strive for a balanced coalition, will propose its own constructive option for continuing the reforms, and will support a government of national confidence—professionals who are capable of governing and not being a political club.

This leads on to the second part of my answer to your question. My colleagues and I signed the letter out of economic expediency. Did we want to obtain a professional parliament? Yes. But work in such a parliament takes up a great deal of time and effort and cannot be properly combined with work in the government. I envy the boldness of people who believe that it is possible, for example, to combine leadership of a ministry with hours-long sessions in the Duma. This will not work. On the other hand, it could happen that the degree of manageability of the economy and the quality of the decisions adopted on taxes, exports, and the budget will fall still further. Therefore the industrialist-ministers have decided to concentrate on "heavy" work, so as to at least somehow counter the spread of the financial and industrial crisis. Each to his own: Some people succeed better in wrapping up economic views in statements that people can understand, while others more successfully embody their economic views in effective, concrete decisions.

I therefore do not consider my refusal to run for election as something like a betrayal of the people who nominated me as a candidate deputy. On the contrary, my consent could have been viewed as some element of uncertainty in the future: Who knows how the reforms will go and whether the government will survive; so, to be on the safe side, let me try to acquire a seat in the Federal Assembly that is guaranteed against all surprises.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the people of Chelyabinsk, Khabarovsk, Bratsk, and many others who collected tens of thousands of signatures, wishing to see me as their candidate deputy. I am sincerely touched by their trust and attention....

To put an end to this question, I will add: Politics depend on the economy. With a normally functioning economy, bloody political excesses are ruled out. Therefore the best way to influence politics is to improve the health of finances, organize the work of industry, and raise up agriculture. This is what my colleagues and I are now doing.

Anticipating the question that a member of the government cannot be outside politics, I will say only this: I am obliged to forecast the political situation, but with regard to economic management.

[Petrov] People have heard many such words in recent years. Only statistical data attest to a continuing decline in production, and price tags in stores attest to increasing living costs. Incidentally, the first anniversary of the government's work under the leadership of V.S. Chernomyrdin fell a few days ago. What has your team succeeded in doing, and where have blunders been made?

[Soskovets] You can count as an achievement the fact that, given an initial inflation level of 30 percent and more, the government has reduced it to 16 percent—the first time this has been possible for 15 months. Prices are increasing even now, but not as fast as before. Today the federal

budget deficit does not exceed 10 percent of GDP. For December 1993 the average wage will stand at 125,000 rubles [R], which roughly corresponds to $100. This exceeds the average wage at the time of the start of the reforms, which in Russia averaged $7.

But, most importantly, we have changed the ideology in the management of industry. We have completely abandoned excessive centralization. Very important documents have been signed and are in force—documents which for months were unable to make their way out of the former parliament. On the creation of financial-industrial groups, for example. I believe that they have a future, and this work must be continued next year.

I would count among the government's unutilized opportunities the fact that it has failed to halt the production slump. It has failed to restructure Russia's industry. The problem of mutual nonpayments is great and is literally paralyzing the work of, let us say, the timber industry complex and agricultural machine building. There is no getting away from these problems, and they will have to be resolved just the same.

[Petrov] The following question arises out of this. In what way and in what timeframe can the said problems be resolved? If we take a broader view of things, when will the increase in the people's living standards become more visible?

[Soskovets] I hope you do not want me at once to give a prescription for the nation's salvation. My role is far more modest: I prefer to tackle concrete matters, not to make forecasts. In the final analysis, when our life will improve depends only on our work, on the enterprise of millions of Russians.

[Petrov] Do you see any points in Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's program which really need to be implemented speedily? And the same question with regard to the programs of other parties....

[Soskovets] Quite honestly, I could see no substantial difference in the economic programs of the majority of the parties competing for seats in parliament. To a considerable extent they repeated in one way or another what was written in the government program for deepening the economic reforms.

As regards Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, I find it hard to say anything definite: I have not seen his program. And yet it seems to me that, after learning the real state of affairs in the state and delving into the essence of economic and financial problems, Mr. Zhirinovskiy will have to change many of his ideas.

[Petrov] Do you deem it necessary to make a substantial correction to the course of reforms? As is known, it now provides for rigid financial stabilization, maximum reduction of the federal budget deficit, the lowering of the inflation rate to 5 percent a month by the end of next year.... It is easy to understand that such a course closes opportunities for the accelerated restoration of the production potential. Most importantly, it leads to substantial restrictions in the social sphere. Meanwhile, as the elections have shown, the people's patience has already run out.

[Soskovets] It is not the elections but life itself that makes us make corrections. We have talked a lot about the fact that the social component of the reforms must prevail. But have we done a lot? Of course not. Unfortunately, the government has been unable to fulfill its own pledges to the budget-funded sphere. We have placed orders with the defense industry and then not bought up the military hardware produced. The state's debt to this sector exceeds R1 trillion. This means that these enterprises will be unable to enter 1994 normally, will be unable to buy raw materials and semimanufactures, and will not replenish working capital. And yet living people are affected by all this. Will they vote for reforms when they have not been paid for two or three months? I am afraid not.

It is undoubtedly necessary to reconsider the relations between the state and the peasant, regardless of where he works—on a collective farm or a private farm. And yet a whole chain stretches out from this: Peasants have not applied fertilizers to the soil, thereby causing production to fall in chemical plants and undermining the future yield. We have not given credit resources to certain regions in time to buy fuels and lubricants, with the result that part of the cultivated harvest has been left under the snow. Who needs this?

These are obvious mistakes, and of course they must not be repeated next year.

There is another point which I regard as important. Financial stabilization must not become an end in itself for us. It is merely a condition for developing Russian industry. Strong finances must have a beneficial effect on production, not stifle it.

[Petrov] Do you regard any reshuffles within the government as possible (or necessary)? What influence can the newly elected parliament exert on the government's composition?

[Soskovets] There is no doubt that reshuffles are necessary and will be carried out. The contradictions and disagreements demonstrated by Cabinet members during the election campaign did not lend strength to the present government.

As for the new parliament's influence on the composition of the future government, of course it will be felt. But I would not say that this influence will prove decisive, particularly in the light of the new constitution's adoption.

Maybe I will be repeating myself, but the chief thing, in my opinion, is that this government should be a team of professionals with a thorough grasp of the problems which they have undertaken to resolve. In any case, people must come into the government who are able to consolidate society and point it in the direction of concrete action.

Filatov Expects Democrats To Have Majority in Parliament

LD1712195593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Report by T. Aldoshina; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The first diplomatic meeting since the elections and the referendum on the constitution was held in the Kremlin today. Sergey Filatov, the head of the president's administration, held two conversations today—with Sir Brian Fall, Britain's ambassador to the Russian Federation, and Otto von der Gablentz, the Federal Republic of Germany's ambassador. Both diplomats believe the adoption of Russia's new constitution will be the main outcome of the 12 December events, and both expressed their concern at the unexpected success of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDPR] in the elections.

Sir Brian Fall wanted to know if representatives from Zhirinovskiy's party would work in the parliament using the LDPR's party manifesto as their basis. Sergey Filatov preferred not to discuss this question and limited himself to saying that Zhirinovskiy's party represents a danger and that everyone is already aware of this. But he expressed certainty that the democrats will have the majority in parliament. Filatov did not explain what grounds he had for thinking this, but in a conversation with Otto von der Gablentz he noted that consultations are in progress as a result of which a basis for creating a democratic majority should be found.

Situation 'Demands' Democrats' Unity

OW1812085993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1945 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Studio interview with Sergey Aleksandrovich Filatov, head of the Russian Federation President's Administration, by Inna Yermilova; from the "Utro" program—live]

[Text] [Yermilova] With great pleasure I would like to introduce today's guest, Sergey Aleksandrovich Filatov, head of the Russian Federation President's Administration. Sergey Aleksandrovich is a very rare visitor to our program, but I think this ought to be corrected in the near future. Sergey Aleksandrovich, I have several questions to ask, first concerning the results of the elections that have just been held. Everyone is uneasy about them. Could you give us some preliminary information about the number of seats the parties will get in the Federal Assembly?

[Filatov] Yes, I can give you some preliminary results. I must warn you that these are our results, because the Central Electoral Commission will publish the official results. However, according to our data, the composition of the State Duma will be roughly as follows: About 91 deputies representing Russia's Choice, 62 the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia], 61 the Communists of Russia, 33 the Yavlinskiy Bloc, 46 the Agrarian Party, and 24 the PRUA [Party of Russian Unity and Accord]. Women of Russia will have 22 representatives and there will be a few other representatives from other minor parties.

In other words, the myth that was spread at the very outset, and which...

[Yermilova, interrupting] ...And which made everybody very anxious?

[Filatov] Yes. As a matter of fact I am very troubled by the fact that this dealt a psychological blow to all our citizens, citizens of the Russian Federation. It was not warranted since reality is actually somewhat different. Although there is alarm and there are demands for an analysis of what happened, nevertheless the democratic forces could have a majority in parliament if they unite. I have in mind all the democratic forces, and if they unite they will have a majority of a little more than 225.

We should add about 36 percent to the figure of 225, distributed among everyone, producing an even higher figure. At any rate, if Russia's Choice, PRUA, the Yavlinskiy Bloc, Women of Russia, and the Civic Union unite they should have a majority.

[Yermilova] What is your forecast? Will the democratic forces unite?

[Filatov] I really think the situation demands it. Of course compromises will have to be found, but I think that each time the question will center on a given subject around which it will be possible to reach agreement and to somehow unite. As a start, they should unite without hesitation on fundamental issues, on questions of principle and state which should promote stability in society and progress for reforms. I think the people and the world expect this.

[Yermilova] Sergey Aleksandrovich, I would like to ask you a question which concerns this topic and another one about the president's edicts. Often it is very difficult to find the edicts of the Russian Federation president in the press, even in the central newspapers. Information appears about an edict being released, then commentaries on the release of the edict appear. But most readers find it very difficult to find the edict itself. Does your administration plan to do anything about this?

[Filatov] You have really raised a very sore point here. And it is not just a matter of publishing it, it is a question of explaining and understanding the edict too. Unfortunately, this work has not been organized very well and the president has set me, the head of the President's Administration, the task of improving this area of our work.

Official edicts and government decrees are presently published in two newspapers—ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA and ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI. These are official publications which are obliged to carry the documents. We currently have a proposal from IZVESTIYA, on its own initiative, that we also make it an official publisher of the documents. I think it almost certain we will adopt the

proposal because we need another large-circulation, respected newspaper to publish these documents.

The Legal Literature Publishing House is also publishing our special brochures and I suppose we will have to increase their circulation and...

[Yermilova, interrupting] ...Of course, and this should be brought to the attention of as many people as possible.

[Filatov] Yes. Now, as to the second question, and you outlined it correctly, about the need to publicizing the contents of the edicts, explain them and the reason for them, what it provides for...

[Yermilova, interrupting] ...In a very simple, accessible, and easy-to-understand way.

[Filatov] Yes, what it provides for and so forth. So I have made a personal decision that from next week I will begin either appearing on television to talk about this or meeting correspondents so that they can supply the information through the all the mass media outlets at least once a week...

[Yermilova, interrupting] ...Now that is a wonderful decision...

[Filatov] ...and as there are usually up to 10 edicts a week there will be a lot to talk about.

There are two other problems about which I would like the people to know. The president receives very many letters and very many others are written to presidential bodies, most are interesting and the nature of the issues they address is constantly changing. I think these letters will be one of the topics of these appearances.

Finally, the impression has been created that there is absolute mayhem here, that nobody is watching for violations, and that nobody is overseeing the implementation of edicts and government decrees. In actual fact, the supervisory administration carries out a great deal of work in this area. I think we will report on these results as well.

A lot of checks are carried out as a result of letters from ordinary working people, the letters of our people and citizens, in addition to letters from officials on the spot. We react to them very quickly and commissions are often on their way very soon afterward.

[Yermilova] It is very important, Sergey Aleksandrovich, to report this, because when people are busy they do not have time to talk about it. It is important to bring this to people's attention.

[Filatov] Right, so you are the first to hear that I discussed this topic with my assistants today and we have decided we want to try publicizing these things. I do not know whether or not it will be boring, but we will try somehow to tell people about what is happening on these issues.

[Yermilova] Sergey Aleksandrovich, one more question, if I may. I often see you at the openings of art shows and at theatrical premieres. Recently the Guild of Russian Cinema Actors marked its fifth anniversary. Despite your very busy schedule—I saw how tired you were, excuse me for spying on you a bit—nevertheless you sat in the auditorium for five hours. Is this a weakness for the arts, or is it politics?

[Filatov] A bit of both. I cannot separate these things. I mean this quite seriously. First of all, I derive great satisfaction from these meetings since I acquire personal enrichment from my contacts with this very rich world. I have a feeling inside, an intuition, that people need politicians present at their activities and events. Besides which, very good and businesslike contacts can be established. Some people need not only moral support, but material and physical support as well. When this needs to be done I do it with great pleasure because I understand how difficult the situation really is today.

These courageous people who are working in exteremely tight financial and material and reduced technical conditions do very much for the state and the people with only the least bit of assistance. Second I am chairman of the State Presidential Commission for State Prizes and it was, of course, a great pleasure for me to get acquainted with all the work this involves. The works have been extremely interesting, extensive, and talented and I would very much like them to be seen by a wider audience, so that people could see and assess this wealth, and absorb a bit of this wealth into their hearts.

[Yermilova] So that they become convinced about just how talented our Russia is. Sergey Aleksandrovich, one last question. Ours is a morning program and the people who are watching us are now getting ready for work or are off to do business. They have been very nervous and tense these past few days. What would you like to wish our television viewers right now in just a few words?

[Filatov] As soon as I became involved with politics and saw the awful confrontation in society, the uncompromising attitudes, and even hostility, I became firmly convinced that if we want to achieve any results during this transitional period we can achieve it only on one condition—that we establish harmony in society. I do not mean concord on all issues. This we cannot have since society is different now and I think we will never have unity, particularly of political views. This, in fact, is good...

[Yermilova, interrupting] But maybe (?we need this diversity)?

[Filatov] Yes. It is good, it is wonderful. But this irreconcilability, this intolerance, this hostility...

[Yermilova, interrupting] And aggression?

[Filatov, continuing] ...and aggression in people's relationships with one another, this bitterness must be eliminated from our society. So if we want to carry out processes which affect everybody's destiny and concern their property and material and spiritual worlds, we must say to ourselves: Be kinder to one another. That is what I would like to say to everyone, particularly when we once again are experiencing very grave and dramatic times. Of course everybody now understands, they understand precisely,

everybody I have spoken to understands, that it is the new constitution which has, to a great extent, saved us today. It now gives us an opportunity to achieve stability.

So I want to congratulate everybody on its adoption, although much remains to be done, and of course I appeal to everyone to live in kindness and harmony. This is most important.

[Yermilova] Thank you Sergey Aleksandrovich. I would like to remind you again that our guest on the "Utro" program was Sergey Aleksandrovich Filatov, head of the Russian Federation President's Administration. Thank you.

[Filatov] Thank you.

Yeltsin Aide Draws Parallels to 1933 Germany

AU2012133993 Vienna PROFIL in German 20 Dec 93 p 69

[Interview with Adranik Migranyan, Presidential Council member, by Andrey Ivanovskiy in Moscow; date not given: "Democratorship Is Sufficient"]

[Text] [Ivanovskiy] Mr. Migranyan, do you think that election winner Vladimir Zhirinovskiy is dangerous?

[Migranyan] The mood in Russian society is even more dangerous: The injured national self-confidence, the economic problems, which keep growing, the gap between rich and poor. Zhirinovskiy personifies this mood.

[Ivanovskiy] Do you see a parallel with Germany in 1933?

[Migranyan] Yes, I see a state that has suffered a defeat—even though only in the Cold War—I see weak political institutions, a demoralized population, and an acute economic and intellectual crisis. Therefore, I have been repeating for years that under these conditions it would be ridiculous to speak of democracy. For Russia there are only two possibilities: good or bad authoritarianism, that is, some sort of "democratorship" or a totalitarian nationalist regime.

[Ivanovskiy] Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, whose election block wanted to present itself as a democratic alternative to Yeltsin and suffered a debacle, said after the elections: Now Yeltsin has a new enemy image in the person of Zhirinovskiy, which he needs in order to gain distinction.

[Migranyan] Poor Grisha, who is constantly dreaming of becoming the next president, has, unfortunately, lost any sense of reality. He and Nikolay Travkin of the Democratic Party constantly talk about a democratic, centrist alternative to Yeltsin's course. However, there is no center in Russia. There is only either/or: Yeltsin's rule or nationalist totalitarianism.

[Ivanovskiy] Will the split-up democratic groups in parliament unite in view of the right-wing extremist danger?

[Migranyan] I do not see any sign of consolidation of the democrats. They have built their election campaign on criticism of the government and the government bloc "Russia's Choice." Thank God, the new constitution has been adopted, which gives great powers to the president so that he can largely ignore the decisions of parliament.

[Ivanovskiy] What would prevent the current opposition from revising the Constitution with tanks as soon as it feels powerful enough?

[Migranyan] For the time being, the president is strong enough to make society dance to his rules. These rules were approved by the people in the referendum.

[Ivanovskiy] What will the next government be like?

[Migranyan] According to the constitution, the president is not obliged to adjust the government to the result of parliamentary elections. He can ignore it and form the government completely independently. On the other hand, the current cabinet is not homogeneous: In addition to the core of reformers around Yegor Gaydar, it contains people like Sergey Shakhray, whose party is increasingly representing the interests of the large state enterprises and kolkhoz leaders. As a member of the Presidential Council, I will advise Yeltsin to finally form a homogeneous government oriented toward reform, and to thoroughly purge his apparatus.

Opposes Coalition Government

LD2012151893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1220 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Andranik Migranyan, a member of the Presidential Council, declared that the most recent reshuffles in the state power structures and those changes which can occur in the near term had not been made under the pressure of Russia's Choice bloc leaders. On Saturday [18 December] in his interview with Interfax he pointed out that Russia's Choice has no real opportunities to exert pressure on the president after announcement of preliminary results of the elections to the Federal Assembly.

"If Russia's Choice had gained a victory at the elections it could have exerted pressure on the president to force personal and structural changes," noted Migranyan.

In his opinion, the Federal Assembly does not present any serious problems because the present composition of the deputy corps "is much better for the executive power than Russia's former Supreme Soviet."

Migranyan opposes creation of a coalition government. "Only consolidated executive power can constructively cooperate with the Federal Assembly," he believes.

In his words, the president must solve the problems concerning consolidation of executive power. "If the government is divided into three camps (Russia's Choice, agrarians, and Party of Russian Unity and Concord), then the presidential administration will also collapse into three components. Such executive power cannot work because it is concerned only over its political future in the post-Yeltsin space."

The president has an opportunity "to send many officials from his administration's executive power to a very

responsible sphere—to the State Duma where they can be of benefit to the state and reforms." To this effect he expressed opinion on the expediency to transfer present governmental leaders of Russia's Choice to the future Sate Duma after they leave their posts in executive power bodies.

Migranyan believes that several influential factions will be created in the future State Duma: the "isolated faction of Zhirinovskiy, the consolidated bloc of agrarians and communists, and a democratic oriented faction."

In his words, the elections have demonstrated that the country has passed a certain stage of development and there is a need for change both in domestic and foreign policy. "Thank God the president still has time and opportunity to introduce appropriate corrections," said Migranyan.

Tatarstan Vice President Discusses Elections

MK1712133093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 1

[Interview with Tatarstan Vice President Vasiliy Likhachev by Radik Batyrshin under the "Tatarstan" rubric: "Failure To Vote Is a Form of Protest, Thinks Republic's Vice President Vasiliy Likhachev"]

[Text] [Batyrshin] What is your view of the results of the December elections?

[Likhachev] We should not remain psychologically impaired. There is a need to make a serious analysis of the elections and referendum results. Many did not go to the polls, but I am inclined to view this as a show of political passivity. This was a form of political protest, and a very serious warning to the authorities in Moscow, the presidential team, and the government. One can also say that the voters preferred the formula of a strong Russian state with a strong president.

The results of voting in Tatarstan cannot be regarded as unexpected. In the April referendum the turnout was one of the lowest in the Russian Federation—22.6 percent. The 13.9 percent on 12 December speaks of the fact that the tendency toward a lower prestige of the Russian state structures is deepening in the minds of Tatarstan residents. At the same time, the results of voting in the republic lead to a conclusion about a certain measure of trust of the republic's population in Tatarstan leaders and the reform course they follow. It is also important that people's not going to the polls on 12 December has nothing to do with their nationality. The Russian Federation leadership regards the election results as a serious political lesson. The main task today is how to combine the texts of the constitutions of Russia and Tatarstan, to plan how to develop normal relations with the Russian Federation authorities. This task can be resolved through a speedy resumption of the talks with Moscow and the conclusion of a treaty delimiting the powers and jurisdictions between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tatarstan, as well as the remaining intergovernmental agreements. I feel that the problem of relations between Russia and Tatarstan today has taken on a new political significance in which the international factor will be playing an increasing role. Apparently, should the president of Russia, as head of state leaning on provisions of the new constitution, and the president of Tatarstan come forward with a joint initiative on concluding a bilateral treaty and intergovernmental agreements, this would mark a signal event in the efforts to strengthen political stability in the Russian Federation, and improving its international prestige. Incidentally, this step would bring considerable political dividends both to Boris Yeltsin and Mintimer Shaymiyev.

Incidentally, on 15 December I agreed with Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Russian working group at the talks, that a plan of work on a bilateral treaty would be drawn up shortly.

[Batyrshin] Some of the mass media accuse the republic's authorities of sabotaging the December voting....

[Likhachev] An environment of maximum goodwill was created at Tatarstan's polling stations, and all candidates for the State Duma were provided with every opportunity to publish their programs. The draft Russian constitution was actively discussed on republican radio and television. It is only natural that some provisions of this constitution came in for criticism in the course of discussion, which is fully in line with the proclaimed democratic principles. This criticism, however, drew resentment from individual Moscow politicians. I think that Tatarstan voters became aware on 12 December, as never before, of their responsibility for every line in the future Russian constitution. The sense that the voters had not been provided with a chance to discuss and introduce amendments in this draft made those dissatisfied with separate articles of the future Russian Federation constitution stay at home. To my mind, this is a logical outcome of a series of errors made by the federal authorities in preparing the referendum on the constitution. I would like to stress that none of the numerous international observers present at the elections in Tatarstan recorded a single instance of violation of the legislation.

It is much easier today to look for the guilty than to analyze the election results and, proceeding from the results of this analysis, to make corrections in Russia's political strategy.

[Batyrshin] Will there be repeat elections for the Federal Assembly in Tatarstan next March?

[Likhachev] This would directly depend on success of the talks between Kazan and Moscow.

Party, Other Reaction

Conference Held on Creating 'Antifascist Front'

LD1812130993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 18 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] An organizational conference of democratic forces on setting up an antifascist front was held today in Moscow. There were armed guards in the hall because they

were expecting Zhirinovskiy who, as speakers said, would climb up the stage and proclaim himself the first antifascist.

Anatoliy Chubays made a speech at the conference. He admitted that his party and the government made mistakes during the election campaign and declared that it is time to stop analyzing the results and start actions. He supported the setting up of the antifascist front. He proposed to call it a movement.

As far as the leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] himself and his party are concerned, Anatoliy Chubays completely rejected the possibility of compromising or cooperating in any way with that party. He said that we should think and act more and not give way to emotions.

Then he noted that we are talking not only about the meeting and the declaration on setting up the antifascist movement but also about its material and financial support. The task is not only to fight against Zhirinovskiy and the LDPR but against fascism as a whole in Russia.

Father Vladimir, a church representative, said that although the church has renounced politics, fascism is not about politics but is a manifestation of satanism which the church should expose and should oppose.

Chubays Addresses Gathering

LD2012142093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1220 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Russian Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays called the position of those who propose "to humanize representatives of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], find forms of civilized interaction with it, make compromises, or share power as "absolutely unacceptable." On Saturday he addressed a meeting of the democratic public in Moscow which established a popular anti-fascist movement. "There cannot be any compromises with the LDPR," declared Chubays.

Chubays believes that "one of the major mistakes made both by Russia's Choice and the democratic movement as a whole is the fact that we failed to clearly explain to people what we want, what we do, and why any other actions are impossible and irresponsible."

According to Chubays, democrats failed to solve "a more important task," namely to explain to people "what values the democratic movement protects and what ideals should be understood and adopted by Russia's people."

In Chubays' words, the tasks facing the anti-fascist movement are "wider that the struggle with Zhirinovskiy." He believes that the Russian anti-fascist movement should unite "all political forces irrespective of contradictions between political blocs."

"Today we have appropriate potential, support, and power to make this movement one of the mighty political force in Russia," he declared.

Chubays reminded everyone that the Russia's Choice bloc has the greatest faction in the State Duma and there are "other blocs and movements which are ready to support it." He called on the meeting's participants "not to forget that we have not lost the elections."

"We are ready for struggle, we know how to wage this struggle" in order "to put an end to fascism in Russia once and for all," declared Chubays.

Ponomarev Urges Personnel Changes

LD1912151593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1340 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] A leading member of the Democratic Russia movement has urged President Yeltsin to make personnel changes in his office. He virtually accused some members of the president's office of concealing the real state of affairs in society from the head of state.

The Democratic Russia cochairman and a leading member of the Russian Choice bloc Lev Ponomarev said on Saturday [18 December] that President Yeltsin's impression of what is going on in Russia is inadequate.

Addressing the democratically-oriented public at its rally held to establish the Popular Anti-Fascist Movement, Ponomarev said that last July "the critical situation forced" him, Sergey Kovalev and Sergey Yushenkov to visit Boris Yeltsin who was vacationing in Valday, despite resistance displayed by the head of the president's office Sergey Filatov and the security chief Aleksandr Korzhakov.

"At that time I got convinced that he did not realize how critical the situation in the country was." Ponomarev said. According to him, the president was unaware that a national economic conference to be attended by Ruslan Khasbulatov and by government members was to take place in Moscow shortly. Having learned about it from the deputies who had come to see him, the president decided that government members should not take part in the conference.

According to Ponomarev, a different decision would signify "an end to reforms". "In September the issue of impeaching the president would have been raised, and the next congress of people's deputies would have endorsed the impeachment," said Ponomarev. A few days after the deputies' visit Yeltsin suspended his vacation and returned to Moscow.

Now, Ponomarev says, the situation is also critical, but the president confers with his supporters, such as Russian Choice leaders, only in their capacity of government members, not spokesmen for a bloc that backs him.

"Not all is right in the president's team," Ponomarev declared. According to him, "the president should sort things out and decide" who of his aides genuinely implements his policy.

Appeals Approved

LD1812190793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1738 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] A meeting of representatives of public organizations, parties, art unions, and Moscow citizens held on Saturday [18 December] in Moscow announced about creation of a popular anti-fascist movement and approved several statements with an appeal "to save Russia from fascism."

The address to Russian people signed by the leader of the bloc Russia's Choice Yegor Gaydar, chairman of the Agrarian party Yury Cherednichenko, co-chairman of the movement Democratic Russia Lev Ponomarev, and other representatives of public organizations and art unions says that the fascism defeated in Russia half a century ago has returned into the country and "has acquired its fuehrer." The document notes that all promises of Vladimir Zhirinovsky, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, are nothing more but "a lie which will lead to a war." Authors of this statement appeal to Russia's citizens to unite into a Popular anti-fascist front to save Russia from fascism.

The address to Russian President Boris Yeltsin stresses that the country's authorities have ignored warnings of the democratic public regarding inadmissibility of existence of extremist parties and organizations. However, "fascism has become a political reality in Russia," that is why the anti-fascist movement deems it necessary "to categorically ban propaganda of fascist ideology in any form and serious staff re-arrangements in the presidential apparatus and law enforcement bodies."

The movement expresses its concern due to the appeals to obediently adopt everything that happened which are voiced even in the presidential circles and to look for "a consensus" with the LDPR, and declared that a president of a democratic country "cannot grant equal chances for democrats and Nazis."

In their address to the democratic public of the world and governments of other countries participants of this meeting call for "international solidarity of anti-fascists of the whole world" and propose to hold an international congress of peaceloving forces early 1994.

Address to Yeltsin Adopted

LD1812190793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1738 GMT 18 Dec 93

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Concern Expressed Over Press Center

LD2012130693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1225 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—In an appeal made to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, participants in a meeting of democratic community, who have founded the People's Anti-Fascist Front, have expressed concern over the situation around the house of the Russian press. They have also expressed their solidarity with staff members of editorial boards located in the same building.

Authors of the declaration consider especially important to preserve now the unique base of democratic journalism when fascism is raising its head in the country. The document underscores that the house of the Russian press has become a bastion of democratic forces. More than one million two hundred thousand signatures were collected here in support of President Boris Yeltsin during the April referendum. Various democratic organizations are working in this building in close contact with the mass media.

Participants have called on the president to review his decree "On Placing Chambers of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly" in such a way that the "new parliament may not feel itself involuntary persecutor of the democratic Russian press from the very moment of its (the parliament's) birth."

Russia's Choice To Create New 'Party of Reformers'

LD1812164293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1554 GMT 18 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuliya Kantor]

[Text] St. Petersburg December 18 TASS—The Russia's Choice has decided to create a new party of reformers to counteract a threat to Russian democracy posed by Zhirinovskiy's party, Petersburg leader of the Russia's Choice bloc Igor Soshnikov told ITAR-TASS here today.

"An idea to create a party of liberal reforms was suggested back at a congress of the Russia's Choice bloc. After December 12 the idea was voiced once again by Petersburg and Moscow democratic community," he said.

In the words of Soshnikov, bloc leaders are negotiating the party creation. Its constituent conference is scheduled for no later than the first half of January 1994.

"A meeting of the Russia's Choice Political Council will soon be convened to form the organizational committee and start working on a draft program document," noted Soshnikov. In the opinion of bloc leaders, the new political organization "should be a strong party with a strict structure and not an amorphous movement".

After the State Duma starts working some supporters of the Yavlinskiy bloc and the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms will join the new party, said Soshnikov.

Russia's Choice Urges Invalidation of Communist Victory

LD1712132793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1310 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Manvelov]

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—"The Communist Party's mafia gained a victory" in the elections in the Kuban region, southern Russia, the Russia's Choice candidates to the seats in the Federal Assembly from the Krasnodar Territory told a news conference in the House of the Russian Press Friday [17 December].

The news conference organizers urged to invalidate the results of the elections in the region as "numerous flagrant violations" of the current law, specifically the provision on information guarantees during election campaign, had been observed.

Yavlinsky Interviewed on Reformist Alliance

OW1812105093 Tokyo KYODO in English 1022 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 18 KYODO—Russia's two main pro-reform parties have agreed to form an alliance in the country's new parliament to counter the influence of ultranationalists who captured a stunning one-fourth of the vote in the December 12 general elections, reformist party leader Grigoriy Yavlinskiy says.

But Yavlinsky, an economist and leader of the pro-reform Yabloko Bloc, stressed in an interview with KYODO NEWS SERVICE that such cooperation is premised on the two parties' arriving at a common policy line on major issues facing Russia.

He revealed that talks are now under way to that end.

Yavlinskiy was referring to an accord reached between his party and the party Russia's Choice, which forms the main pillar of support for embattled Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Incomplete results on Friday [17 December], based on returns from 190 of 225 constituencies, put the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) headed by ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy ahead with 23.5 percent of the vote, followed by Russia's Choice with 14.8 percent and the Communist Party with 13.3 percent.

Yavlinsky's party came in sixth place with 7.6 percent of the vote, followed by the pro-reform Party of Russian Unity and Accord with 6.82 percent. The Agrarian Party and Women of Russia ranked fourth and fifth.

Yavlinskiy slammed Zhirinovskiy's party as smacking of the dark forces of "National Socialism (Nazism)."

He attributed that party's gains, as well as those of the leftist parties, to the population's "extreme discontent" with 20-30 percent monthly inflation, sharply diminished production, unemployment and other symptoms of the country's economic depression.

Yavlinskiy said the crucial task now for the government is to rein in inflation. He said the tight fiscal policies presently being pursued by the government are insufficient in that regard.

The reformist leader said the government must also carry out a number of economic structural reforms, such as dissolving industrial monopolies, correcting mistakes in the privatization process and stimulating competition in the marketplace.

Yavlinskiy, 41, who was formerly a vice premier of Russia during the Soviet era, is best known for his contribution to a "500-day" plan for rapid market-oriented reform that was proposed to former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev but never implemented.

He called the willingness of Russia's Choice to pursue such measures a condition for his party's support in parliament.

Liberal Democrats' Foreign Policy Program Detailed

LD1712162493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1439 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] The main principle of Russia's foreign policy should be "non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and strict prevention of outside attempts to dictate to Russia how it must behave or threaten it with the use of force." This is stated in the foreign-policy section of the program of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party (LDP).

According to the LDP, "Russia is not a subordinate part of Europe; it is an independent geopolitical unit that can be correlated with no European nation separately, but only with the entire continent as a whole."

As the LDP program says, "Zhirinovskiy's party stands for peaceful coexistence and allied relations in Europe, particularly with Germany." "Our priorities in Asia should be drastically revised. Our relations with the Arab countries should become mutually beneficial, subject to their paying their debts to us."

According to the LDP, "Iraq should be viewed as Russia's strategically in the south." "However, while supporting its policy of limiting the U.S.'s influence in the Middle East area, the LDP stands against Iraq's calls for eliminating the State of Israel."

The LDP program also says that "India should remain the biggest and most reliable friend for Russia in Asia." "China should be viewed as a factor for stability in the Far East. We should strengthen cooperation with that nuclear superpower and try to restore our old friendly ties with it."

The LDP finds it necessary to "press for signing a peace treaty with Japan without any preliminary conditions." "It must be remembered that Russia was a victor in World War II, and territorial claims to it must not be allowed. On the whole, relations with Japan should be built on the principle of clearly dividing the spheres of influence and maintaining equitable partnership."

According to it, Russia must build its foreign policy on the basis of "profitable international ties aimed at intensifying our production, and at utilizing scientific and technical progress for the sake of enhancing prosperity for the peoples living in our country."

Further on Policy

LD1712180693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1548 GMT 17 Dec 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; by diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, Igor Porshnyev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others]

[Text] Interfax continues to familiarize its subscribers with the foreign-policy priorities of the parties which will be represented in Russia's Federal Assembly after December's elections.

The main principle of Russia's foreign policy should be "non- interference in the internal affairs of other countries and strict prevention of outside attempts to dictate to Russia how it must behave or threaten it with the use of force." This is stated in the foreign-policy section of the program of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party (LDP).

The party believes that it is expedient "to pass from the centuries-old East-West relations to the more profitable, promising and less strained North-South contacts." "With this aim in view it's necessary to agree with the leading powers to divide "the spheres of influence (economic interests). Latin America and the Caribbean will be the sphere of influence for the United States—by purely economic and political methods, not military; West Africa for Europe's industrialized countries; Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey for Russia; the south of Asia and Oceania for Japan and China."

According to the LDP, "Russia is not a subordinate part of Europe; it is an independent geopolitical unit that can be correlated with no European nation separately, but only with the entire continent as a whole."

As the LDP program says, "Zhirinovskiy's party stands for peaceful coexistence and allied relations in Europe, particularly with Germany." "Our priorities in Asia should be drastically revised. Our relations with the Arab countries should become mutually beneficial, subject to their paying their debts to us."

According to the LDP, "Iraq should be viewed as Russia's strategic ally in the south." "However, while supporting its policy of limiting the United States' influence in the Middle East area, the LDP stands against Iraq's calls for eliminating the State of Israel."

The Liberal Democrats believe that "the endeavors to form military blocs in Central Asia on the basis of ethnic or religious communion must not be encouraged." "No matter what kind of union it is—Pan-Turkic or Pan-Islamic —it will inevitably become a source of new political and economic tensions in the region and in the world as a whole."

The LDP program also says that "India should remain the biggest and most reliable friend for Russia in Asia." "China should be viewed as a factor for stability in the Far East. We should strengthen cooperation with that nuclear superpower and try to restore our old friendly ties with it."

The LDP finds it necessary to "press for signing a peace treaty with Japan without any preliminary conditions." "It must be remembered that Russia was a victor in World War II, and territorial claims to it must not be allowed. On the whole, relations with Japan should be built on the principle of clearly dividing the spheres of influence and maintaining equitable partnership."

As for Russia's relations with countries "in other parts of the globe" (America, Africa, Australia and Oceania)", according to the LDP program, "they are beyond the area of our directly vital interests." "However we must firmly press for the repayment of all the debts owed us by the third-world countries," the document says.

According to it, Russia must build its foreign policy on the basis of "profitable international ties aimed at intensifying our production, and at utilizing scientific and technical progress for the sake of enhancing prosperity for the peoples living in our country."

As for foreign trade, the LDP program demands that "the whole of it" be conducted "under state control by government agencies established for this purpose."

Zhirinovskiy Urges German Immigration

LD1812102093 Berlin DDP in German 2348 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Hamburg (DDP/ADN)—The right-wing extremist Russian politician, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, has expressed the view that Russians and Germans "must never again fight each other." Russian Germans should no longer leave the country to settle abroad, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, which was very successful in the parliamentary elections, told the Hamburg-based SPIEGEL news magazine. In its latest edition, the magazine further reports that the nationalist leader, Zhirinovskiy, also came out in favor of the migration of hundreds of thousands of German farmers to Russia. There are "houses with telephone lines" waiting for them.

According to Zhirinovskiy, his party would be willing to take part in a coalition government if offered cabinet posts by President Yeltsin. Lately, Yeltsin has moved closer to the "patriotic forces," after having been "misled again and again" by bad advisers. The right-wing politician further announced that he will submit a motion at the first parliamentary sitting aiming to stop the aid for Russia's neighbors immediately. This will lead to a 30 percent improvement in the standard of living in the country. Zhirinovskiy also demanded that the reorganization of the arms industry to manufacture civilian products be stopped. "They should start building submarines again," the report quotes him as saying.

Liberal Democrats Protest 'Slander'

LD1712161993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1439 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] The High Council of the Liberal Democratic Party expressed a strong protest against the unbridled propaganda and slander against the party, its leader and voters. The statement released Friday by the party's central committee says that the media has cast aspersions on the party and its leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, and by doing so also insult those who voted for the Liberal Democrats.

We understand that this is the manifestation of the weakness of the existing regime and it is looking for a way out, says the document. It continues to claim that currently, protocols registered on December 13 are being reviewed in one-mandate electoral districts. The result is the redistribution of the votes and the replacement of the victorious candidates.

In view of this the High Council of the Liberal Democratic Party demands an immediate intervention of the Central Election Commission and Russia's Prosecutor General in order to curb illegal actions, says the document.

'Activist' Reveals Election Plan

LD1712192793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Dec 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] ITAR-TASS has reported that in an interview with the France-2 television company, a Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] activist, Mr. Aleksey Valentinovich Mitrofanov, has revealed the Zhirinovskiy party's election campaign plan—codenamed Werewolf [Russ oboroten]. According to Mitrofanov, this plan consists of putting party supporters onto the lists of other blocs or of presenting them as independent candidates. Mr. Mitrofanov evaluated the effectiveness of this plan as enabling the election of 200 LDP supporters as deputies in the State Duma and 50 in the Federation Council.

Describing this information, the France-2 political observer declared: If these tactics are confirmed, President Yeltsin may be expected to demand that the election results be annulled. Furthermore, all this clearly does not work in Zhirinovskiy's favor in the eyes of the world community as it assesses how the elections went in Russia.

DPR, Communists, Agrarians To Cooperate in 'United Front'

LD1812123493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] According to INTERFAX, there was a consultation meeting on 17 December between the leaders of the Agrarian (APR), Democratic (DPR), and Communist (CPRF) parties of Russia. The possibilities for cooperation between these political organizations in the new parliament were discussed. The participants in the meeting agreed in principle to work as a united front, in particular on issues of the structure of parliament, and the necessity of setting up commissions of various kinds.

DPR's Travkin Outlines Party's Platform

LD1712194693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] The parliamentary faction of the Democratic Party of Russia (DPR) will place special emphasis on the implementation of reforms through "achieving progress little by little, through a policy of small matters." The party also intends to pay special attention to the local level of power where such policies could be the most efficient. Finally, the party faces the need to "make clear the very notion of democracy," the DPR leader, Nikolay Travkin, told a press conference in Moscow today.

In an answer to an INTERFAX question, he said the DPR would seek certain amendments to be made to the constitution by the future parliament. At the same time, the party recognized the fact that the Constitution was adopted by the December 12 referendum and will "act within its framework."

Speaking of the DPR's possible allies in the parliament, Travkin said his party shared more views with the Communists and the agrarians than with Russia's Choice. At the same time, he pointed out the parliament was unlikely to ever see stable blocs.

Travkin also said that the DPR did not intend to demand government reshuffles or push its candidates for ministers. "Let the president do it," he noted.

Renowned movie director Stanislav Govorukhin, nominated to the parliament by the DPR, said the first thing he will seek in the State Duma will be the return of the White House on the Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment to the parliament. He also intends to put forward the setting up of a commission to investigate the developments in Moscow from September 21 to October 4.

Commenting on the victory of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) in the federal elections, Govorukhin asked: "Why is LDPR called fascist? The elections were democratic. As for fascism, I saw it on October 4."

At the same time, Govorukhin said he did not stand up for Zhirinovskiy who, in his opinion, "emerged from the people's deepest hatred for the government." "The LDPR leader is the last hope for those who call themselves democrats," he said.

Communists Consider Cooperation With LDPR

PM2012161593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Valeriy Vyzhutovich report under the general heading "Rivals Prepare for Meeting in Parliament: IZVESTIYA Correspondents Report from the Headquarters of the Leading Party Blocs": "Communists Prepare for Plenum"]

[Text] In the headquarters of the Russian Communist Party, a cramped room with three desks, a metal closet, and a telephone, there is no sign of any "hustle, pep, or bustle." A respectable woman secretary, by no means young, leafs through the newspaper PATRIOT with an air of boredom and now and then answered telephone calls. While I was there a telephone call came from the United States, from Vitaliy Sevastyanov, number two on the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF] election list. The Communist cosmonaut congratulated his comrades on their election victory and inquired about the preparations for the plenum scheduled for 25 December. I also asked: What about the plenum? Why is it being convened?

"We will consider the issue of the results of the Federal Assembly elections and Communists' tasks in the new conditions," Viktor Zorkaltsev, deputy chairman of the CPRF Central Executive Committee, replied. "Our analytical centers are today preparing the appropriate material. All members of the Central Executive Committee have joined in this work."

[Vyzhutovich] Is the CPRF is setting itself new objectives and changing tactics?

[Zorkaltsev] We are primarily preparing for parliamentary cooperation with all blocs and parties.

[Vyzhutovich] With Zhirinovskiy's party also?

[Zorkaltsev] Why not? If there are sensible people in the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] we will try to establish contact with them. This party has a huge social base, it cannot be ignored. And there must be no pigeonholing. If the LDPR program contains fascist ideology, this must be investigated by the Ministry of Justice and the case brought to trial. But I personally see no reason to panic. Russia is not under threat from any fascism.

[Vyzhutovich] What is your opinion of the election results?

[Zorkaltsev] I think that the Communists won a convincing victory. But we must seriously investigate how Zhirinovskiy's party took so many votes away from us. [Zorkaltsev ends]

Viktor Zorkaltsev said that he attended a session of the Russian president's Commission for Legislative Proposals from where he obtained the draft laws on the State Duma, the Federation Council, the status of the deputy, and so on.

[Vyzhutovich] Are you satisfied with these documents?

[Zorkaltsev] They contain plenty of sensible, correct elements. We can work on and discuss them. We do not seek confrontation. [Zorkaltsev ends]

According to Zorkaltsev's statement, the Communist faction in the Duma will submit to party discipline and will be strictly controlled by the leadership. When asked whether the Communists aspire to government posts, the deputy chairman of the CPRF Central Executive Committee said: "It all depends on what the president wants, we are not insisting on anything at the moment."

There is every indication that the CPRF's parliamentary strategy and tactics will be decided once and for all at the plenum.

Baburin Sees Possible Cooperation With Liberal Democrats

LD1712213093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Leader of the Pan-Russian Union, Sergey Baburin, who won a seat in the new parliament as independent candidate from Omsk, spoke of being open to cooperation with "all responsible forces." The 34-year-old Baburin was a member of the previous parliament.

At a news conference in Moscow on Friday [17 December], Baburin spoke of wanting to seek the upholders of a third option for Russia's development lying between capitalism and socialism. He does not rule out cooperation with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democrats, stressing that "we will judge the LDP on its merits."

Baburin attributes the LDP's astounding success to general apathy as to what was being done by the Russia's Choice alliance and Yeltsin's entourage.

For his part, former Soviet deputy Viktor Alksnis accused the opposition of turning Zhirinovskiy into a pariah rather than an ally. He reckons the LDP leader is "a serious,

intelligent and shrewd politician wearing the mask of a clown and a thick layer of make up."

Russia's Future-New Names Leaders Analyze Results

LD1712172293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1439 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] The administration and Russia's Choice alliance have both paved the way for Zhirinovskiy's arrival on the political scene, leaders of the defeated bloc, Russia's Future—New Names (RFNN), said in Moscow on Friday.

One RFNN activist Vladimir Mironov believes Zhirinovskiy is likely to strike a rapport with the Yeltsin administration while his relations with Russia's Choice in the new parliament will be "perfectly smooth." It is due to Zhirinovskiy's support that the new Constitution was adopted, Mironov said.

Vladimir Zharikhin, one of the leaders of the RFNN, so far winning only two seats in the State Duma, pointed to numerous cases of election irregularities in the run-up to last Sunday's vote. He says the vote does not reflect the electorate's mood because of being held within tight schedules. The RFNN leader says Zhirinovskiy had swayed part of the electorate which would have voted for Aleksandr Rutskoy in a situation other than it is now.

The RFNN says the government policy must be majorly corrected. There will be no stability in Russia until after a new presidential election, Zharikhin said. But this, he says, must be held as a full-blown marathon rather than a 100-meter race as the last election was. Nothing short of this condition can help reveal the electorate's real mood, he went on to say.

The RFNN is planning to start preparations for local elections after turning itself into a nation-wide alliance. Many of its members belong to Aleksandr Rutskoy's People's Party of Free Russia which wants to steer its own canoe in those elections.

Further on Causes of Defeat

LD1712190593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1417 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] As I have already reported, members of the Future of Russia-New Names electoral association held a news conference today where they gave an analysis of the causes of their defeat and the whole election process. Vladimir Mironov, the party's leader and director of the Insitute of Politics, voiced their general view.

[Begin Mironov recording] We did many things wrong, perhaps, in our election campaign. I believe that, first, a huge shortage of time had its effect. Second, the situation and mood of electors were misinterpreted, primarily at a verbal level. We lacked the kind of impudence noticeable in others, for instance in Mr. Zhirinovskiy, who promises a lot but cannot deliver. I think his situation is very difficult now, because if he starts fulfilling his promises, a war will follow, but if he does not fulfill them, he will lose the trust he has gained. In my view, his road to power was cleared by the presidential administration and Democratic Russia, first of all. They did everything to split the opposition and to ensure that those who could have voted for the Communists gave their votes to Zhirinovskiy.

I am convinced that in the new parliament, Zhirinovskiy—this cross between a nut case and an impostor—will find a common language with the party in power. I believe this is an example of a deliberate giveaway by the authorities who created yet another defensive rampart or echelon of power to set up a system of additional security, just in case.

Also, I believe the powers that be did everything possible to extremely polarize the situation in the country. They reckoned that, thanks to this, the center would collapse and therefore would shift towards them. But that proved to be a mistaken view, too. On the whole, the authorities' wrong planning has led to the sorry results for Russia's Choice. [end recording]

'Live Dialogue' Guests Discuss Zhirinovskiy, Election

LD1912134193

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1220 GMT on 19 December carries a live 40-minute "Live Dialogue" studio discussion program with moderator Yuliy Semenov and Nikolay Gonchar, new Federation Council deputy, according to preliminary results; Otto Latsis, IZVESTIYA editor in chief; Vitaliy Tretyakov of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA; and Sergey Yushenkov, deputy head of the Federal Information Center and new deputy to the State Duma according to preliminary results.

Semenov asks the guest to name the most outstanding feature of the elections. All of them stress that this was the first democratic election, although the outcome was unexpected by the ruling party.

Semenov turns to the success of Zhirinovskiy's party. He says he believes that the leader's personal charisma is at the center of this success and asks for comments from the guests.

Latsis maintains that Zhirinovskiy's success had been built up over the last two or three weeks before the election. He charges that not publishing the results of opinion polls predicting the high vote for the Liberal Democratic Party, LDP, before the election was a big mistake. In his view, the worsening situation in the country is the decisive factor behind this vote.

Tretyakov adds the following reasons for Zhirinovskiy's success: the narcissistic nature of members of the present government, who did not even suspect that they may not be loved by the people; the natural mistrust of the population toward anyone in power; and the fact that Zhirinovskiy was the only one to give detailed answers—albeit politically incorrect and inhumane answers—to questions asked by many voters.

Yushenkov disagrees with the charge of narcissism; he believes that it was the split among democrats that doomed their chances for success.

Gonchar interrupts, downplaying Zhirinovskiy's success. He urges cooperation of all forces with President Yeltsin and praises the Party of Russian Unity and Accord.

The discussion continues with regard to the people's general disappointment, Zhirinovskiy's campaigning skills, and the narcissism charge raised by Tretyakov.

The guests then discuss the structure of the future parliament. Gonchar says there will be three centers in the new parliament: left-wing, centrist, and right-wing. He assumes the LDP will be left of center. He says he hopes the Federation Council will be a practical working body.

The discussion then turns to the personality of Zhirinovskiy and the nature of his electorate. Semenov asks if the people who have voted for the fascist Zhirinovskiy are themselves fascists, gullible, or childish. The guests fail to answer these questions.

In conclusion, all the guests agree that hard work and consensus are needed in order to achieve a working parliament.

Gorbachev Says Election Results 'Useful Lesson'

LD1912070993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0638 GMT 19 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vitaliy Gordiyenko]

[Text] Moscow December 19 TASS—Former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev expressed his opinion about the lessons of the voting during the recent elections in Russia.

The right estimate of the polling results "is that people rejected the policy course which led them into the present unbearable situation in their life," he said in an interview with the first-channel news bulletin broadcast by the Ostankino television network on Sunday after midnight.

At the same time Gorbachev said he cannot "share the panicky mood of some of our politicians who found themselves among the losers, and, still less, the state of those who in their fright issue slogans urging us to man barricades somewhere".

Having decribed the polling results as a useful lesson, the former Soivet president said "our people, it turns out, have come up to the mark and even topped us".

International Reaction

Clinton Comments on Zhirinovskiy Showing Cited

PM2012134393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Dec 93 First Edition p 6

[ITAR-TASS report: "President Clinton: Liberal Democratic Party of Russia's Success Should Be Regarded Skeptically"]

[Text] U.S. President Bill Clinton expressed full support for Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his policy of reforms in an interview published in THE WALL STREET JOURNAL on Thursday [16 December]. Commenting on the preliminary results of the parliamentary elections in Russia, the White House incumbent observed that the success of Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] should be regarded skeptically.

In Clinton's opinion, "Zhirinovskiy's television campaign, which was well-thought-out and which appealed to patriotic feelings," did have an influence on Russians, who are now harvesting the very first fruits of democracy." The head of the American Administration considers that the large number of seats which the LDPR could occupy in the new parliament by no means deals a fatal blow to the democratic forces.

Clinton declined to answer the question as to whether he plans to meet with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy during his visit to Moscow next January. "I have not talked with anyone about this to date," the president stated. He suggested that excessive demands by the West and international financial institutions, insisting that rapid economic transformations be carried out in Russia, could have had an influence on the results of voting for the new Russian parliament. By putting forward "overtough" demands, Clinton noted, and forcing the citizens of countries experiencing political and economic transformations "to overcome the difficulties which beset them too quickly" the West could "create the conditions which we are so strongly seeking to end."

Gore 'Vehement and Frank'

PM2012141193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 1

[Yelena Ovcharenko and Leonid Timofeyev report: "Contacts and Contracts. Hurrah! Let's Give the United States Uranium!"]

[Text] U.S. Vice President Al Gore's current trip to Russia and the results of the work of the Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Technological Cooperation proved exceptionally successful.

We have already talked about one of the main documents (and there are 22 of them in all)—the Agreement on Cooperation in Space. In six weeks' time Sergey Krikalev will be the first Russian cosmonaut to go into orbit aboard a U.S. shuttle.

The Agreement on Cooperation in Conversion seems equally important. Speaking at a press conference in Moscow, the U.S. vice president cited the following figures. In just one year Russia has lost as many jobs in the defense industry as the United States has in five.

Hard to believe, but it is a fact: Accord has been reached to open up access to U.S. markets for our uranium. This problem has been a stumbling block for two years, coming up against the uncompromising attitude of two U.S. Administrations. Our potential losses are also great: If the agreement comes into force Russia may earn $200-250

million a year from the deliveries. Admittedly, there is one "but." The Congress, our parliament, or prestigious business circles can come up with pointed arguments against the plan in the next 30 days. If that does not happen, the agreement will come into force. Interestingly, during his contacts with the press, A. Gore was extremely vehement and frank in voicing his opinion of the situation that has developed in Russia. He told journalists that Boris Yeltsin will be successful in forming a coalition which he can effectively control. The U.S. visitor voiced this impression after meeting with the Russisan president. Then Gore assessed Vladimir Volfovich's statements (primarily about Germany and Japan) as "disgraceful"—the reason for this unequivocal statement, untypical of visiting foreigners, was this: Neither Gore, nor his country, nor indeed the whole world have the right to keep silent on this matter. We learned from conversations with informed U.S. colleagues that the vice president's statements were not a case of winging it: The two top men in the United States supposedly agreed in Washington that President Clinton would be restrained in what he said, while his deputy could afford to be more brusque in his assessments in Moscow.

Belarus Foreign Minister Expects No Changes in Ties

WS2012093693 Minsk BELAPAN in Belarusian 1610 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] Commenting to a BELAPAN correspondent on the elections in Russia and on possible changes in relations between the two states, Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchanka stated: "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Belarus proceeds from the assumption that there are no changes at the state and government level. With regard to the elections, they are an internal matter of friendly Russia." Petr Kravchanka particularly emphasized that in similar situations Belarus should not interfere in the matters of sovereign states under any circumstances.

Opposition Leader Comments

LD1712134593 Minsk Radiostantsiya Belarus International Service in Belarusian 1900 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] The leader of the Belarusian People's Front, Zyanon Paznyak, declared that the elections in Russia are evidence of its instability and are a source of world instability. Zyanon Paznyak noted that this is a lesson for the West, which is living on illusions. For us there was no unexpectedness at all. Russia will never become a democratic state because an empire cannot be a democratic country. The leader of the Belarusian opposition declared full support for the position of Ukraine in keeping its nuclear weapons. I consider that Belarus also must not give up its nuclear weapons to Russia, said Zyanon Paznyak.

Tallinn Radio Cites Reassurance on Zhirinovskiy Influence

LD1712132193 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Anatoliy Krasikov, head of the Russian president's press service, has given a lengthy interview to Estonian Radio's Russian-language service. The interview discussed Zhirinovskiy's so-called Baltic card. Krasikov stated that Zhirinovskiy cannot play any card at all. He is indeed a party leader, but he does not determine Russia's foreign policy or even domestic policy. To this end there are the president and the government and rules are laid down in the constitution. Zhirinovskiy is a citizen of a free country and can say whatever he thinks is right, but he is not representative of any official position.

According to Krasikov, Russia plans to maintain good-neighbourly relations with Estonia and would not allow any kind of provocations in this sphere.

Latvian Nationalists See Results as Supporting Views

PM1712143793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Irina Litvinova report: "Latvian Nationalists Helped Zhirinovskiy"]

[Text] Riga—I would not have believed it if I myself had not heard a boy on a Riga streetcar ask his mother in Lettish: "What will happen now that Zhirinovskiy has won!"

National-radicals have interpreted the Russian election results as confirming the correctness of their chosen implacable policy in relations with Russia and of the tough approach to "nonindigenous" inhabitants. Aleksandr Kirshteyns [name as transliterated], leader of the movement for national independence and chairman of parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission, declared: "A summit meeting of NATO member countries and a CSCE conference will be held at the beginning of next year, and until then there can be no question of our signing anything with Russia." Adherents to the idea of strengthening the Latvian Army and its special services have once again increased their activity: The enemy is not dozing but is brandishing as yet only words, so we too must be on our guard. The Riga newspaper SM-SEGODNYA has drawn attention to this trend: Instead of "strengthening the intelligence and counterintelligence service, the Latvian authorities should urgently adopt the most liberal possible citizenship law, thereby preventing the emergence of a real 'fifth column' on the republic's territory."

Who else is setting the Russians against Latvia's policy if not the government itself, which refuses to recognize them as "its own"? In his first public statement on the election results in Russia President Guntis Ulmanis remarked that they must act more wisely in respect of ethnic minorities. Maybe he will be more resolute in upholding the rights of the one-third of the population of Latvia which has not secured Latvian citizenship. As a result, half voted for the Communists and Zhirinovskiy. Janis Jurkans, a well-known Latvian politician and former foreign minister of Latvia, points out that the Baltic countries' security depends on the shaping of accord within society.

The Latvian national-radicals gave the Communists and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy great assistance. Will this be understood in the Baltic state? Or will Latvia's tough national

policy continue helping the opposition to criticize the Russian authorities for their inability to protect human rights in the Baltic republic?

Azerbaijan Welcomes Adoption of New Constitution

LD1712165693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1505 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdulayeva, Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku December 17 TASS—Azerbaijan has welcomed the adoption of a new Russian constitution, ITAR-TASS learned from the press service of the Azeri president on Friday [17 December]. Azeri officials expressed the confidence that the new constitution of the Russian Federation would become a reliable basis for the stable development of the country following the way of democratic transformations.

Head of the press service, Tofik Abasov, refrained from commenting on the results of elections to the Russian Federal Assembly, saying that it was an internal affair of Russia and its people who have made their choice. At the same time Abbasov expressed the hope that the victory won by the Liberal Democratic Party would not negatively affect Azerbaijan and relations between the two countries to which Azerbaijan is attaching particular importance.

FRY's Lilic Congratulates Yeltsin, Urges End to Sanctions

LD1812135193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1250 GMT 18 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec—FRY President Zoran Lilic has sent a congratulatory telegram to Russian President Boris Yeltsin in connection with the adoption of the new Russian Federation Constitution, and the holding of the first parliamentary elections on a multiparty basis.

I am confident, the congratulations say, that the adoption of the new Constitution will assist the stable internal development and the strengthening of Russia's international position, and its historic mission in international relations, for the good of the strengthening of peace.

We expect that your objective and balanced approach to resolving the crisis in former Yugoslavia, and especially in Bosnia- Herzegovina, will continue to bring great influence to bear on the political rationality of the positions of all parties involved at the upcoming Geneva talks, and on their positive outcome.

I especially hope that Russia's growing influence in international organizations will make it possible to effectively assist the abolition of the unjust sanctions against Yugoslavia and the Serbian people as a whole, that have seriously affected its position, the telegram of the FRY president stresses.

Bulgarian President Sees Slow Pace for Reform

LD1912174993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1744 GMT 19 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Abrosimov]

[Text] Sofia December 19 TASS—The results of the Russian parliamentary elections reflect the existing level of democratic mentality in Russian society and the difficulties which have lead many people to disillusionment and despair, Bulgarian president Zhelyu Zhelev said.

In an interview with Bulgarian radio on Sunday [19 December], Zhelev said that the success of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia and its leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy should not be overdramatised. It signifies, however, that democratic reforms in Russia will take longer than in East European countries, he added.

Speaking about relations between Russia, Bulgaria and NATO, Zhelev said that "we are connected with Russia by our spiritual roots, by the fact that Russia is the state which liberated Bulgaria from the Turkish yoke. At the same time we cannot but take into account the existing political realities. It is hard to say now how the situation will develop in Russia. The disbandment of the Warsaw Pact and the disintegration of the Soviet Union have left Bulgaria without sound guarantees of its national security. At present such guarantees can be provided by membership in NATO which is moving towards the system of collective security in Europe."

This enables Bulgaria to seek integration with NATO, the Bulgarian leader said. Zhelev opposed the idea of Bulgaria's neutrality. "It would be naive to speak about neutrality on the background of events in the Balkans," he said.

European Liberal Parties Regret Zhirinovskiy Success

PM2012143193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[ITAR-TASS report: "Statement of European Liberal Parties"]

[Text] According to a report from Brussels, representatives of the liberal parties of the European Union [EU] countries have issued a statement categorically denying V. Zhirinovskiy's claims to have maintained contacts with liberal-oriented parties of the "twelve."

"The success of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia is, unfortunately, the success of an extreme right-wing party whose populist theses have found a response in conditions of a transitional period that is extremely difficult for the Russian people," the statement says. The faction of liberal parties in the European parliament confirms its support for Russia's democratic parties and welcomes the approval of the new Constitution, "which should enable President Boris Yeltsin to carry through the reforms he has begun in the country."

Japan Welcomes Constitution Vote, Alarmed by LDPR

LD2012153393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1445 GMT 20 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentin Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo December 20 TASS—The Government of Japan welcomes the adoption of the new constitution of the country at the recent nation-wide referendum, Tsutomu Hata, Japanese foreign minister, said in a statement regarding the results of elections and referendum held in Russia circulated here today. The document also expresses alarm over the success gained in parliamentary elections by conservative and nationalist forces.

The statement underscores that Tokyo "in particular, welcomes the adoption of the Russian Federation's Constitution as a result of the referendum, since it creates a basis for conducting democratic reforms in Russia. The very fact of conducting democratic parliamentary elections and a referendum on constitutions has a great significance, and also as a turning point on the path to transform Russia into a true democratic state", the foreign department document emphasised.

But, simultaneously, the Foreign Ministry statement noted with alarm that although final results of the elections are yet not known, "the unexpected high level of support gained at the elections by the conservatives, including the Communist Party and ultra-right Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR]" attracts attention towards it.

In all probablity, this is connected with the dissatisfaction of the population by the present situation in the country and is an evidence that it is not so simple to implement economic and political reforms, the document said.

"Japan," the statement further said, "expresses a hope that deputies of the new parliament will act with responsibility in conducting internal, as well as foreign policy of Russia, so that reforms do not suffer a setback, but on the contrary, move ahead."

The official Tokyo in the foreign department statement assures that Japan "will not change the policy of according appropriate support to conducting reforms in Russia, since it is very important for the international community that the Russian Federation became a country which shares such values as democracy and a market economy with the rest of the world."

Media Analysis, Commentary

No Link Seen Between Living Standard, Voting Pattern

PM1712134593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 2

[ITAR-TASS report: "Hasty Conclusions: Research by Political Analyst Georgiy Satarov Does Not Confirm the Link Between the Outcome of the Ballot in the Regions and Indicators for Voters' Living Standards"]

[Text] The theory that the results of the ballot on the party lists is a form of protest by the population against the reformers' economic policy is not confirmed scientifically. This was reported to an ITAR-TASS correspondent by Georgiy Satarov, leader of the INDEM [expansion unknown] Center for Applied Political Research.

An analysis carried out by the scientist on the basis of the preliminary results of the ballot did not confirm a statistical dependence between the proportion of those who voted in the regions for "Russia's Choice" or the Liberal Democratic Party and the aggregate economic indicators for the living standards of the population of those very same regions. Among the indicators for living standards, the analyst researched the growth rates of the average wage, the consumer price index, and consumer spending growth rates in specific regions.

The conclusion drawn by the political expert is corroborated by data on the comparative success of candidates from the various electoral associations during the elections for the State Duma in single-mandate districts. If the number of candidates from the various blocs is compared with the number of seat winners, it is discovered that by far the "luckiest" were the "Women of Russia," the "Agrarian Party," and the "Russia's Choice" associations.

Among the "unlucky" in the single-seat districts were the Democratic Party of Russia, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, "Kedr," and "Russia's Future—New Names."

Yavlinskiy's "Civic Union" bloc [as published], the Liberal Democratic Party, the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms, the Russian Federation Communist Party, and the "Dignity and Charity" movement are classed as "in-between" by the scientist.

As for appraisals of the elections, Georgiy Satarov noted that many conclusions drawn on the outcome of the ballot are notable for their "dilettantism, vague speculation, and vulgar journalism."

Democrats Taught 'Good Lesson' by Election

PM1712141793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 2

[Feliks Babitskiy report: "The Opening of the Ballot Boxes Showed..."]

[Text] **...the Vanquished**

These must primarily include Civic Union, the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, and, at a stretch, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA]. The last-named crossed the 5-percent barrier, albeit with incredible difficulty, but the myth of an alleged influential "party of the regions," was dispersed "like a dream, like a morning mist." So the leaders of the PRUA can of course claim seats, but, given their real prestige among the electorate, it cannot be ruled out that the number of names beginning with "Sh" may be reduced in the government.

The defeat of Civic Union looks even more devastating. The prestige and money of the "red directors," as well as Arkadiy Volskiy's famous name, seemed capable of working a miracle. But no miracle occurred. His usual indecisiveness in open political struggle, so characteristic of an old courtier, played a mean trick on Mr. Volskiy. After all, he and Yegor Gaydar alone had prepared positive economic programs. But whereas the latter at least publicized his program somehow, Arkadiy Ivanovich was, for no other reason than modesty, virtually silent. So his program slogans were borrowed by anyone who took the trouble—Shakhray, Yavlinskiy, even Zhirinovskiy.

So what now?

Now, the Civic Union, and possibly the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, will scarcely survive for a long time as a political force. The directors, who are by definition not capable of living without a "master," sincerely wanted to see the former boss of the CPSU Central Committee Industry Department in this role. But he, as they said in the olden days, "did not justify confidence"....

...the Victors

The victory of Mr. Zhirinovskiy's party was obvious just under a month ago to a number of specialists, and on the eve of the elections to the broadest range of citizens. The reasons for his victory have been analyzed in a fair amount of detail. The only thing that is not clear is to how destructive the consequences of his victory will be. The Communist Party is breathing down the neck of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR]. In the vote based on the party lists it did not achieve the best results, but they are still rather impressive. What is even more important is that in the majority-vote districts the Agrarians have so far had the greatest success. However, parliamentary factions can only be formed on the basis of the lists of parties that have made it into the State Duma. And this means that the reunification of the Agrarians and the Communists in the parliament is more than likely, and their faction will turn out to be even more numerous than the LDPR.

However, a rhetorical question posed by Karel Capek unwittingly comes into my mind here—in his novel "War with the Newts," the great Czech writer asks his readers: "Is it possible that, having conquered the people, these amphibians will not learn to make history among them?"

Nevertheless, the victors of this election campaign will scarcely be united. Both Zyuganov and Zhirinovskiy have clearly expressed dictatorial ambitions and will scarcely want to share their slice of power with each other.

In the now-disbanded parliament of the previous convocation, the democratic majority repeatedly demonstrated its ability to prevail over the conservative majority [sentence as published]. The majority was torn apart by a thousand contradictions. It seems that this cannot be avoided now either.

...the Powers That Be

One way or another, the new constitution has been ratified. Admittedly, this has happened not without the assistance of the supporters of Mr. Zhirinovskiy, who deems the constitution suitable for himself. However, he will only be able to make use of it if he holds the presidency. But between him and the desired goal there stand not only a healthy president but also Viktor Chernomyrdin, who is officially acting vice president. Thanks to the same constitution, it will not be hard at all for Yeltsin to stand up for this guarantor of his political security. If the parliament rejects Chernomyrdin's candidacy as a premier three times, it may be dissolved anew, but this time, thank God, without the use of force.

And so, hopes that the new Russian parliament will not be in confrontation with the executive have not been borne out, but no disaster has occurred either. It is just that the democratic forces have been taught a good lesson, and, let us hope, have understood that it is impossible to win in a single spurt, even with the help of guns and the Special-Purpose Militia Detachment. And it is now that all the battles have been fought that really serious work is ahead of us.

Problems Seen Ahead in Forming 'Democratic Coalition'

PM1712124993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 93 First Edition p 4

[Valeriy Vyzhutovich article: "A Counter Movement Without a Change of Route"]

[Text] Although they have not yet fully recovered from the shock caused by the election results, the leaders of the democratic blocs and parties, thank God, are at least unanimous in the view that a broad coalition must be created to oppose "Zhirinovskiy's falcons" in the State Duma. As Sergey Kovalev has stated: "The coalition will be formed in the following way: It will expand as much as is necessary to thwart the fascist bloc's decisions." The political boundaries of the future coalition are declared open. What is more, they are so wide open that... "If the Communist Party of the Russian Federation wants to cooperate with us in the fight against the fascists," Yegor Gaydar has said, "it is welcome."

As for how Gaydar and Yavlinskiy will come to an agreement with Zyuganov and on what basis, that is another, major question. But parliamentary cooperation between "Russia's Choice" and "Yabloko" [the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc] is equally problematic, if not more so. Their leaders' election polemic, aggravated by mutual personal enmity, made a lasting impression: The bridges have been burned. However, on 13 December Yegor Gaydar found within himself the strength to declare: "None of Yavlinskiy's comments about me will prevent me from cooperating constructively with that bloc, because I believe that on most questions we think the same way."

A readiness for cooperation with "Russia's Choice" was also expressed by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy in conversation with your IZVESTIYA commentator, when he said that "it is necessary to move in the same direction and try to find common ground in the broad field of democracy."

It seems that Yavlinskiy again finds himself in a situation desperately similar to the recent past when, after first speaking out sharply against the edict "On phased constitutional reform," he was forced through circumstances on the night of 3-4 October to resolutely and unconditionally support the government and, as it were, join it on the same side of the barricades, only this time not economic ones but real, spine-chilling ones erected on Tverskaya Street in response to Gaydar's call. Now it is happening again. The option is either to stick to one's principles and pursue one's own line or else realize the new danger and bow to political necessity. It is that choice which now faces the leaders of the democratic blocs and parties after the election victory of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia.

But, if a coalition is to be created, what will the terms be and who will be its head? According to mathematical logic "Russia's Choice," as the most representative and largest of the democratic blocs, could form its basis, but there are many objectors. Yavlinskiy believes that only a countermovement will lead to the creation of a coalition. Shakhray was even more forthright in his comments when he stated at a press conference on 15 December that his party "is not going to unite under anyone's roof" and that the Party of Russian Unity and Accord has no intention of waiving its principles. Boris Zolotukhin, a leader of "Russia's Choice," was asked in turn whether there could be cooperation between Gaydar's and Yavlinskiy's teams, to which he replied in the affirmative, although he did explain that in that event "Yabloko" would probably have to replace its chairman, for example, with Vladimir Lukin.

Be that as it may, there is a growing realization that the pre-election demarcation exercise conducted by the democratic blocs and parties was due not to the personal ambitions of their leaders, or in any event not due to that factor alone. In the words of Andrey Kozyrev, "it is now increasingly obvious that the disagreements are deeper and are based on different approaches to the reforms in Russia." If that is so, a steady and durable democratic coalition with a united center and a common discipline in the State Duma is hardly possible. In Sergey Shakhray's opinion, a more viable option would be to unite "not according to the organizational, party principle but according to the character of the question under discussion."

Speculation is pointless. The composition and modus vivendi of the democratic coalition will not be determined until we know the precise correlation of forces in the two houses of parliament as well as in the Cabinet of Ministers, where changes and reshuffles will surely take place. But one thing is clear: Until the reformers who are in power stop claiming that there is no alternative to them, Zhirinovskiy will be that alternative.

'Democrats' Said 'Frightened' by Left-Wing Forces

PM1712123193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 1

[Viktor Trushkov report: "Crux of the Matter. Possible Associations of Future Parliamentary Factions"]

[Text] Our national "democrats" are undergoing surprising metamorphoses. Until 12 December they were giving assurances that these elections were the most, the most.... Well, you simply could not devise anything more democratic. However, the first week following the election is not even over and the tone of the assessments has changed.

G. Nikandrov, the president's representative in Amur Oblast, is advocating that the Federal Assembly elections in the oblast...be ruled invalid. ITAR-TASS reports that 15,000 ballot papers are missing. As we can see, the opposition's suspicions regarding falsification are being borne out by the executive's official representative.

But I would like to draw your attention not to the sleight of hand demonstrated in a number of electoral commissions; I would remind you that they were all staffed by the executive. These statements also reveal that these authorities are themselves unhappy with the election results. Since 2300 hours 12 December when the unforgettable TV show began, it has been dinned into our heads that Russia voted wrongly, that it lost its senses. The proof seems to be self-evident: victory for V. Zhirinovskiy.

I agree that there is a grain of sense in the tirades against Vladimir Volfovich and his falcons just as there is in any set of tirades. But there is even more propaganda obscuring the issue. And disinformation. Certainly, on the federation-wide list the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] will gain around one-fourth of the seats. But only half of the State Duma is elected by that formula. The other half comprises deputies from single-seat districts, where the Liberal Democrats have achieved modest success. It is obvious today that the ratio of votes bears very little resemblance to the propaganda cliches being drummed into our consciousness. The Liberal Democratic faction in the Federal Assembly will not be the largest.

The hullabaloo over V. Zhirinovskiy's victory constitutes a blatant attempt to discredit the not yet fully formed new parliament and pin repellent labels on it—long before its first session! The fascist bogey has been put into service—and this is in Russia, where the people's character, mentality, and world outlook are incompatible with fascism. But the plan is crudely simple: If Zhirinovskiy is almost a fascist and his party is victorious in the elections, consequently the parliament...is certain to be the same.

The people who bombarded the Russian House of the Soviets 4 October are frightened not by the LDPR victory in the elections on the federal list: Zhirinovskiy supports their constitution, their orientation toward capitalism, their cult of individualism. But the LDPR is not at the moment identified in the public consciousness with the incumbent authorities. The voters saw it also as the

opposition. Incidentally, U.S. President Clinton was more honest about this than our politicians who hew to a pro-Western course: "I regard the preliminary results of the elections in Russia to a considerable extent as a protest vote." That is the crux of the matter.

The "democrats" are frightened by the host of left-wing forces. The Communists and the Agrarian Party have won impressive successes in the single-seat districts. These factions will very probably be almost as powerful in the parliament as...no, not the LDPR faction—it will clearly be inferior—but "Russia's Choice." That is the reason for the spiteful propaganda from the democratic crew.

We can assume that there will be eight or nine factions in the State Duma. But none of them will control the parliament, none of them will have a majority. So, there will be associations of factions.

In St. Petersburg "Russia's Choice" supporters have made an appeal to "democratic organizations." It boils down to the following: "In the prevailing political situation the need to create a powerful united political force—a liberal reform party—is becoming obvious. The 'Russia's Choice' bloc urges you to create such a party as a reliable alternative to communism and fascism." You cannot be more sincere than that.

This "new force" will try in the parliament to unite deputies from "Russia's Choice," the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc, and the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, as well as Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms deputies from single-seat districts. Calls are already being heard for G. Yavlinskiy to be invited into the government. It is quite possible that they will also find the right way to approach territorial district deputies representing Civic Union.

What is more, our incumbent rulers are even seeking to land the Communists. But I think that the Communist Party of the Russian Federation has enough principle and common sense not to become a mainstay of the current regime. After all shuffling the holders of ministerial portfolios is by no means the same as a change of course.

The Communists are to get a powerful faction in the parliament. The Agrarian Party constitutes an equally sizeable force in the Federal Assembly. They both aim to defend the interests of working people. It is quite natural and logical for them to form a bloc. On many questions they will be supported —for all their fashionable veneer of anticommunism—by N. Travkin's Democratic Party of Russia faction and representatives from the "Women of Russia" bloc. There are also points of contact with Civic Union.

This is not a format for confrontation. This is a real means of opposing economic disintegration, the impoverishment of the people, and the destruction of the fatherland.

Implications of West's Response to Zhirinovskiy Viewed

PM1712131993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 93 pp 1, 3

[Yuriy Glukhov article: "Why Are They Not Afraid?"]

[Text] It may seem strange, but the triumph of Zhirinovskiy's party has not been a shock to the West, certainly not the kind of shock it has been to our democrats. Even Zhirinovskiy's recent warnings to the Germans about Chernobyl and to the Japanese about new Hiroshimas and Nagasakis provoked no undue reaction. Nor, by all accounts, are the promises to return all the former Soviet republics to Russia, to resume arms supplies to Iraq and Libya, and so forth deemed intimidating.

It is easy to unwrap the grains of truth from the words, which is what pragmatic Westerners do. And the truth is that Russia no longer poses the threat the now-fragmented Soviet Union, acting en bloc with the East European states, once did. The might of the former Soviet Army, which has abandoned its forward-based positions and split along national lines, is no more.

Confrontation is no longer between East and West but occurs within the former Soviet Union, within Russia itself. The implementation of Zhirinovskiy's program, Canada's THE GLOBE AND MAIL concludes, will cause Russia endless border wars which it cannot afford. The prolongation of intra-Union and intra-Russian strife will merely provide even greater scope for foreign influence and direct interference. The West is already playing the role of referee.

Hopes of making money from supplying arms to Libya or Iraq are illusory, as those countries, subject to international isolation, are themselves going through a very severe crisis.

There are any number of similar discrepancies between the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR] leader's statements and the realities.

The West's relatively calm attitude to the "Zhirinovskiy phenomenon" is also due to people over there—unlike the bewildered Russian democrats—having a pretty clear idea of what people are like. "I am not very surprised by the ultranationalist party's performance, as Russians have put up with a lot in the last few years, and we saw the same thing happen in Poland, where there were many economic misfortunes. It is difficult for people to go through all these changes without a certain percentage of them voting for those candidates who protest the loudest," U.S. President Bill Clinton stated.

Finally, the election results are seen as a microcosm of society in class terms. "On Sunday the voters split into a new, relatively small group of 'haves' and a large number of 'have nots' who have become increasingly apparent since the start of the reforms," THE WASHINGTON POST writes.

The LDPR leader has skillfully harnessed the energy of desperation. But there is an enormous gap between him and his voters. At his first international news conference since the election, held at the five-star Slavyanskaya Hotel, he was there in all his glory—tuxedo, bow tie, and silver and gold embroidered cummerbund. The votes of the humiliated and the insulted, the Western press noted, were perhaps only needed to clamber to the top and join the establishment, demonstrating loyalty to the constititution and the president.

That is why the LDPR leader's bellicose rhetoric is currently regarded in the West as mere pyrotechnics. On another level, in Iraq, for example, such behavior simply resulted in a provocative trap being sprung and the tragedy of Desert Storm for the Iraqi people. But the fireworks of provocative language do the job. He is very convenient and beneficial to the West. The bugaboo of the "Soviet threat" and the "evil empire" has disappeared, but you can now cite the unpredictable and alarming "Zhirinovskiy syndrome." The persisting danger can be pointed out. And there is consequently cause to continue the arms race. There is reason to expand NATO and speed up admission to it by the Baltic states, immediately assembling in top-level conference after the news of the LDPR leader's triumph. There are grounds for "looking after" the other former Soviet republics, which have been likewise alarmed.

I do not know where the billion spent, according to some estimates, on publicizing Zhirinovskiy's election campaign came from, but, in the Western military-industrial circles' place, I would not have begrudged him the money. It would yield a handsome return.

I would remark that the troupe of democratic doubles of Vladimir Wolfovich also plays that provocative role. The terms "red-brown" and "communofascism" put into circulation by them can also be exploited as grounds for creating a cordon sanitaire around Russia. Meanwhile, demonstrating striking political shortsightedness, Gaydar and Chubays again resorted to the "communofascism" label when evaluating the unexpected parliamentary election results. Leaving aside the fact that such terminology is insulting to Russians, who triumphed in mortal combat with fascism, it is absurd and suicidal for the authorities themselves, since, according to the voting results, around half of those who actually voted are in the ranks of the "communofascists."

It is small wonder that Kozyrev, speaking on television on the evening of 15 December, should change the record and speak with great persuasiveness of the communists' international struggle against fascism. Bearing in mind that his favorite tune to date had included the "red-brown" refrain, the change in the foreign minister's repertoire under the influence of Vladimir Wolfovich and his speeches is manifest.

Thus, while the emergence of the actual LDPR leader center stage has not generated special alarm in the West, the same cannot be said about the West's anxiety at the social causes of the phenomenon. They are taken seriously, as they are being maintained and are increasing as a result of the "shock therapy" and harbor an enormous explosive charge. In this regard I was struck by the deadly conclusions of the analysis given literally the next day by America's CNN TV company. I quote:

Moderator Reid Collins: Perhaps the West misjudged the situation by pinning all its hopes on Yeltsin?

Redway: I think that's possible. Particularly in the case of the United States. It was a mistake. I think President Boris Yeltsin's time is up.

...Yet again, as was the case with Gorbachev, I was struck how easily leaders are knocked off their pedestals and how quickly their epitaphs are penned.

'Negative Appeal' Welcomed

MK1712140093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 3

[Vladimir Abarinov report under the "Theory" rubric: "He Tries To Frighten, But They Are Not Afraid. Nostalgia for Confrontation"]

[Text] The trite and, probably, sad truth is that there are democratic ideals and there are national interests that do not square with the ideals. Any reasonable government would sacrifice the former for the sake of the latter. There is no need to mull over the legitimacy of a military junta if the junta is friendly. Conversely, one should do everything possible to prevent clearly hostile political forces from coming to power.

A dual standard is a normal phenomenon. The thing is not even that politics are an inherently cynical business, but that a democratic procedure does not necessarily gives power to democrats. This was the case in Algeria, where Islamic fundamentalists would have surely won the elections. Worse still, neither a simple, nor qualified, nor overwhelming majority, for that matter, is able to resolve any political matter.

Western politicians' statements with regard to the Russian election results have been characterized by extreme caution and political correctness. They either avoid comments altogether or congratulate us on the first democratic elections and the adoption of the constitution. How could it be otherwise? The only exception are leaders of the countries neighboring Russia.

Those who still believe that "those abroad will help us," as did members of the memorable "Union of the Sword and the Plowshare," are finally in for a bitter disappointment. For people who think realistically and are familiar with the West not only by hearsay, there is nothing extraordinary in this reaction. Western democracies have more than once had to adapt themselves to situations which they were unable to influence. One cannot but deal with a regime whose place in the global balance of forces had been predetermined by the existence of nuclear arsenals.

Six weeks ago, a high-ranking Russian diplomat replied to a question asked by the author of these lines without

hesitation that Western support is "an external factor" that by no means affects the balance of forces inside the country. He did not agree, however, that the West will close its eyes to any dictatorship. "The West will probably close its eyes to tight measures," the diplomat said, "but, of course, it would prefer these measures to fit into the values it understands."

By a bitter irony of fate, what both interlocutors meant by tight measures was the Russian president's actions to quell the rebellion. At that time the president cited the incomplete legitimacy of the rebellious parliament. At present he has lost this argument.

Obviously, the arrival of the Liberal Democratic Party leader to power is hardly a comforting prospect for the West. But nostalgia for the times of confrontation, when everything was clear and understandable, is also evident. In this sense, the figure of Zhirinovskiy no doubt has a negative appeal. It is not a coincidence that he is "specializing" in foreign policy and is not afraid to frighten. He is absolutely right in claiming that "the West will think it over and cool down."

One should hardly flatter oneself with the thought that the president still has enough powers to take undemocratic measures. The example of that same Algeria is depressing: The country has been plunged into an atmosphere of terror, foreigners are being hastily evacuated, and any speedy return to democracy is out of the question. Conversely, distinctly oppressive regimes have been distinguished by enviable stability. Yes, Russia is not Algeria or Iraq. But this is precisely why any attempts to exercise outside pressure on it are doomed to failure.

As for Mr. Zhirinovskiy expansionist schemes, in all likelihood they will be reduced to a mere phraseological cliche, such as Cato's "Carthage must be destroyed." Russia's neighbors, in turn, will find so welcome a foreign enemy in its person.

TIMES Article Seen as 'Signal' to Yeltsin

PM1712120793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Vladimir Nadein article: "Russian Trucks Disturb the Americans' Peace"]

[Text] Washington—THE NEW YORK TIMES has published an article which is being cited widely on radio and television. The article began on the front page under the headline: "The United States Says That the Russians Helped Damascus To Carry Out a Missile Plan." The subhead reads: "Moscow Did Not Wish To Halt the Delivery of Special Truck Chassis Which Can Be Used for Scud."

This subject is familiar to readers of IZVESTIYA (see No. 178). It is a question of how one private Russian airline, operating exclusively on commercial grounds, contracted to transport from North Korea to Syria the chassis of trucks designed to transport missiles.

Having obtained intelligence reports, the United States asked President Boris Yeltsin at the time not to allow the two Russian aircraft to fly out of Pyongyang with that freight.

Yeltsin's people attempted to do something, but failed. This is not surprising since, as THE NEW YORK TIMES now writes, "despite the desire of the U.S. State Department to stop the deal, it was clear to it that technically there was no violation of the rules controlling exports of missile technology, and consequently there was no need for sanctions, since the Russian aircraft were delivering truck chassis, which do not come under the restrictions imposed by international agreements."

The article produces a strange impression. It does not contain a single grain of new information compared with what had already been published two months earlier by the WALL STREET JOURNAL and then, in greater detail, by IZVESTIYA.

Maybe dangerous new signs that Russia is overtly or secretly ignoring the agreements which it signed on control over the spread of missile hardware and technology have emerged since then? THE NEW YORK TIMES itself gives a negative reply to this. Moreover, the author cites additional facts attesting to Russia's principled position. He points to the recent expulsion from Moscow of a prominent North Korean diplomat on a charge of attempting to entice our nuclear scientists. He reports that German heavy trucks, which are also perfectly accessible to Pyongyang, could also have been in the place of trucks reexported by North Korea. Finally, he says that preliminary reports by Israeli intelligence and claims that Russian aircraft transported Scud missiles themselves proved wrong.

All the charges against Russia in THE NEW YORK TIMES are essentially based on a single, clearly dubious thesis. The newspaper formulates its chief claim as follows: "As distinct from Russia, U.S. law allows Washington to stop the delivery of nonmilitary objects if the administration concludes that they can probably be used to create missiles or other mass destruction weapons."

It is hardly expedient to analyze this thesis in earnest. The timing, the tone, and the thrust of this article are all connected not with the-now distant August episode but with the recent elections.

"Having failed in the attempt to prompt President Yeltsin's government to stop this flight, the administration preferred to keep this episode secret, particularly because of the fear that this might complicate the attempts to ensure support for President Yeltsin and to make Syria more receptive to the upcoming talks on a Near East peace," THE NEW YORK TIMES writes.

Administration spokesmen probably chose this moment for the "leak" in order to send Yeltsin's government an as yet gentle and not importunate yet clear signal that the support which the Russian leader has enjoyed for the past two years is neither unending nor unconditional, and that the United States will always find either a reason or an excuse for complaining about Russia.

It is quite likely that the administration considered election day the start of the "second republic," as the well-known researcher Michael Dobbs, who only recently was working as THE WASHINGTON POST's own correspondent in Moscow, wrote in THE WASHINGTON TIMES. He considers August 1991 the start of the first post-Soviet republic, and October-December 1993 the start of the second republic.

But since neither Michael Dobbs nor other experts who have taken an optimistic view of Russia's immediate prospect have given prominence to the imposing figure of the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, President Yeltsin can probably continue to rely confidently on the West's understanding and support.

U.S. Responsibility for Election Results Assessed

LD1912154293 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Commentary by Valentin Zorin]

[Text] Here is Valentin Zorin's view of last Sunday's parliamentary elections in Russia.

First of all, says Valentin Zorin, the outcome of last Sunday's elections may be interpreted in more than one different way. It may produce both positive and highly alarming repercussions. The United States media have made no bones about their alarm, but have underestimated one very important thing. For the first time in its thousand-year-old history Russia will be having a constitution which is supported by most of those who came to cast ballots and which raised a solid legal foundation for Russian statehood. This alone proves that, following the collapse of totalitarian rule, Russia has indeed undergone a dramatic change. No matter how one chooses to interpret the results of the constitutional referendum, President Yeltsin was indeed supported by voters.

On the other hand, the media's and politicians' concern over the indisputable and, in the view of many, unexpected success of the ultraright and the ultranationalistic forces, as well as the political viability of all too early neglected Communist Party, is well grounded. Lamenting the ultras' and communists' success in the elections, not a single of my Russian fellow journalists has ventured to raise the problem of personal responsibility some U.S. leaders are bearing for what is happening in this country.

Some listeners may find my words undergrounded [as heard] or too harsh. Nonetheless, I daresay that the stubborn and shortsighted rejection of Russian aid programs by Senator Jesse Helms, Congressman Jon Kyl, and a few others is, in fact, playing into the hand of the anti-Yeltsin, antireform, and antidemocratic opposition. I have already been telling our listeners, says Valentin Zorin, that the Russian ultranationalistic forces are accusing President Yeltsin and his foreign policy strategists of unjustified concessions to the United States and excessive confidence in what Washington chooses to say. Washington's failure to meet its numerous pledges to help Russia has been cited by those forces as something that adds weight to the accusation. That is something they have been using as a trump card in a bid to stoke up trouble and sow mistrust of the Yeltsin policies.

Although I have picked out Senator Helms and Representative Kyl as the men who took a clearly negative approach to aid to Russia programs, I would rather put ex-President George Bush to open the list of those who played into the hands of the Russian opposition. Even though many on the list would disagree, it cannot be denied that throughout his term in office President Bush indulged in verbal declarations at the expense of real action. Nothing is as useless as belated reproaches or remorse, but it is not only the past I am talking about. A few days ago, when Russia had already held the elections, the influential and highly experienced chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, Lee Hamilton, said many U.S. lawmakers would prefer to foil aid to Russia. Does Washington feel there will be no more political battles in Russia? Political fighting is by no means over and much, both in Russia and the United States, depends on its final outcome. It is too bad when one makes mistakes, but it is both too bad and too dangerous if one fails to derive lessons from the mistakes he has made.

Russia, Ukraine, U.S. To Continue Nuclear Talks

LD1712210893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2010 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 17 Dec (UKRINFORM-TASS)—Two-day Russian- Ukrainian-U.S. talks on problems relating to the strategic and tactical nuclear weapons remaining in Ukraine after the break-up of the USSR ended here today.

Issues relating to the ratification of START I were discussed. Ukraine demands, among other things, guarantees of its security from Russia and the United States following the elimination of missiles and claims financial compensation for the strategic nuclear weapons subject to elimination, including compensation for the tactical nuclear weapons withdrawn to Russia after Ukraine's declaration of independence.

The talks were conducted in a dynamic way. They will be continued by agreement of the three sides.

The following took part in the talks: Russian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs G.Mamedov; special envoy S. Talbott, and U.S. Deputy Defense Secretary W. Perry; and Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister V. Shmarov.

Talks Held in Kiev

LD1912104793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] Talks on issues of strategic and tactical nuclear weapons, inherited by Ukraine after the disintegration of the USSR, were held in Kiev on 16-17 December. Representatives of Ukraine, Russia, and the United States of America took part in the talks. The sides discussed issues connected with the ratification of the START I Treaty and the reservations contained in a resolution by the Supreme Council of Ukraine. They expressed readiness to tackle these issues jointly. In particular, the talk was about the security guarantees to the Ukrainian state on the part of Russia and the United States of America in connection with the elimination of nuclear weapons, about technical assistance aimed at eliminating these weapons, and about compensation to Ukraine for the fissionable materials contained in the nuclear warheads, including those mounted on the tactical nuclear weapons that were transferred to Russia after the Supreme Council of Ukraine had adopted the known resolution of 12 September 1991.

It was pointed out at the talks that the stand of the Ukrainian side on this issue was correct, substantiated, and that it rested on the principles of international law.

Black Sea States Meet in Sofia; Others Interested

AU1512141893 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 11 Dec 93 p 5

[Vasyl Zhukovskyy report from Sofia: "The Interest in the Black Sea Economic Zone Is Growing"]

[Text] A meeting of participants in the Black Sea Economic Zone [BEZ] was held in Sofia at the level of ministers of foreign affairs. "The meeting was fruitful," Ukraine's deputy foreign minister Oleksandr Makarenko told the HOLOS UKRAYINY correspondent. "One can say that it sums up everything that has been done over this year." Much has been done, in particular, organizationally. The BEZ is no longer just an idea, but a specific international structure, which includes 11 countries and which Poland, Tunisia, Israel, Slovakia, and Egypt would like to join. At the meeting in Sofia, there were representatives of the United Nations, the European Community, and the European Bank.

"I believe," Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev told participants, "that already next year, we will proceed to active business contacts and will focus our efforts on several priority trends." For Ukraine, in particular, these are transport, trade, environmental issues in the Black Sea Region, and banking. Incidentally, the question of the Black Sea Bank headquarters was also discussed in Sofia. There are three candidates—Istanbul, Sofia, and Saloniki. As has become known to journalists, certain differences arose on precisely this issue. It appears that Saloniki may be given preference.

'Security for Europe' Report Discussed in Moscow

LD1712203393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1703 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—A report entitled "Security for Europe" which was drawn up by a group of international experts from Hungary, Germany, Poland, Russia, Slovakia, the United States, Ukraine and Czechia was presented to Russian and American journalists at the Russo-American press centre on Friday [17 December].

The report says that nowadays, people in Russia and other countries of eastern Europe are more concerned about internal rather than international problems. They fear the repetition of the Chernobyl nuclear accident and other major ecological accidents, are aware of the danger of the uncontrolled flow of migrants and the growing influence of transnational mafia structures. Residents of Russia and other eastern European countries do not believe that they are facing some danger from the outside.

Authors of the "Security for Europe" report stated that the Russian people show signs of backing the idea of the unification of three peoples—Russians, Ukrainians and Belarussians.

Analysing the reaction of people in Russia and other eastern European countries to problems of their security after the collapse of communist regimes in their countries, authors of the report arrived at the conclusion that the people have changed the approach to their former values. Nowadays, they give priority to ecological problems, illegal spread of nuclear weapons and the integration of mafia structures in Europe. All these factors have prompted international experts to look at security problems from different positions and draw their own conclusions.

Germany Offers CIS Countries Disarmament Aid

WS1612132193 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan can count on assistance of the German Government in the sphere of disarmament. This can be concluded from a program presented by German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel in Bonn. He proposed that the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, whose validity ends in 1995, become unlimited and that all nuclear states join it. Klaus Kinkel said that his government was ready to extend various forms of aid, including financial, to the four CIS countries. It should be mentioned that Ukraine has recently made an important step in this direction by ratifying START I and the Lisbon Protocol.

Baltic Prime Ministers Hold Talks in Vilnius

LD1712101793 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Zenonas Miksys reports: The Estonian delegation led by Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar arrived by air yesterday. The Estonian prime minister first held a one-on-one visit with the Lithuanian prime minster, then met Lithuanian Minister of National Defense Linas Linkevicius and visited a military unit. In the evening the Estonian prime minister, his wife, and members of the delegation attended the performance of the opera Barber of Seville at the Opera and Ballet Theatre.

The Latvian delegation, led by Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs was met at the Lithuanian-Latvian border, at the Salociai border post, early this morning. The Latvian delegation arrived at the government house in Vilnius at 0830 hours. [passage omitted]

The Estonian delegation includes Minister of Defense Juri Luik, the Estonian Ambassador in Lithuania Valvi Strikaitiene, advisers to the prime minister, and heads of some departments at the Foreign Ministry.

The Latvian delegation includes Minister of Defense Valdis Pavlovskis, Ambassador to Lithuania Alberts Sarkanis, and others. Negotiations of the Lithuanian and Latvian delegations took place at 0900 hours. Tripartite Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian negotiations are being held now. Documents are to be signed and a briefing for journalists will take place. [passage omitted]

Discuss Various Issues

LD1712184593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] The prime ministers of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are meeting in Vilnius. Correspondent Zenonas Miksys reports from the government palace:

[Miksys] The prime ministers discussed the results of the third session of the Baltic Assembly, and joint actions of the three states in the formation of the Council of the Baltic Ministers were determined. Detailed discussions took place on the withdrawal of the Russian Army from Latvia and Estonia, and issues concerning the demilitarization of Kaliningrad were examined. Actions were coordinated in carrying out economic cooperation and continuing consultations on joining international and regional cooperation organizations. This includes a free trade treaty between the Baltic states, cooperation in preparing an economic program for the priority branches of the economy, possibilities for holding consultations between high-ranking officials on the issue of the European Union, and other matters.

Concerning cooperation in the sphere of defense, the establishment of [word indistinct]] of the control of air space, borders and coastal waters was envisaged. Prospects for setting up a Baltic information agency in Moscow were discussed. Discussions took place on further cultural cooperation, tripartite agreements on the forms of customs documents, the recognition of signs, and on speeding up customs formalities.

An agreement on air space and the consular convention are envisaged.

At present the prime ministers of the three Baltic states are signing state documents on the issues discussed in the government palace.

Express Concern Over Russian Elections

WS1712153193 Tallinn BNS in English 1416 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 17, BNS—The prime ministers of the Baltic states said at a press conference in Vilnius Friday [17 December] that they are worried about the results of the Russian parliamentary elections.

Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar, however, emphasized after the meeting of the government heads that the great success of the ultranationalist forces "did not put a scare into the Baltics, but drew attention to the need to intensify Baltic cooperation and accelerate integration into the NATO."

Latvian Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs expressed the opinion that the Baltic states should develop cooperation in the field of security also with states like Ukraine.

At Laar's proposal the premiers decided to exchange military attaches and intensify military cooperation between the three states. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania plan to set up joint military systems on the example of the NATO member countries and build a "hot line" between the Defense Ministries.

Laar and his Latvian and Lithuanian counterparts, Valdis Birkavs and Adolfas Slezevicius, decided to relax step by step the regime on the borders between the three countries, but step up guard on their eastern borders.

The premiers also discussed the withdrawal of Russian troops from Estonia and Latvia.

The prime ministers signed a memorandum on regulating consular issues. The document was not introduced or commented on at the press conference. The premiers said it will be coordinated through diplomatic channels and only then made public.

The prime ministers signed also a document on reviewing the protocol on a joint visa space signed in March 1992. The three countries will set up working groups to coordinate the lists of countries whose citizens can travel to all the Baltic states with one state's visa.

The Lithuanian and Latvian Government heads signed agreements on preventing double taxation and on cooperation in social affairs.

The Latvian and the Lithuanian delegations discussed the issue of the sea border between their countries. Slezevicius

and Birkavs said the issue caused no problems and that they expect the border to be fixed by January.

Latvia and Lithuania also signed a protocol of intent on building jointly an oil terminal at the former Liepaja naval port. Lithuania declared at the same time it would not give up the idea of building an oil terminal at Butinge.

The Baltic premiers are expected to meet again in the second half of January in Riga. The three governments will prepare for the meeting joint documents on monetary policies. It is possible that Latvia and Lithuania will by that time peg their national currencies to some foreign currency, like the Estonian kroon is pegged to the German mark.

The government heads plan to sign also an agreement on agricultural cooperation and an appendix to the Baltic free trade agreement. Both agreements were under discussion today.

Per Stenback, the secretary general of the Nordic Council of Ministers, attended the meeting of the Baltic premiers to discuss with them the cooperation between the Nordic and the Baltic countries. They also touched on the possibility of forming a Baltic Council of Ministers on the example of the Nordic countries. The question will be decided in January.

Sign Cooperation Agreements

LD1712232793 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] The meeting of the three Baltic prime ministers in Vilnius was very constructive and fruitful, said Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius at a news conference on 17 December.

The prime ministers of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, Adolfas Slezevicius, Valdis Birkavs, and Mart Laar respectively, signed on Friday in Vilnius a tripartite memorandum on the regulation of consular relations. The Lithuanian and Latvian premiers signed agreements on avoiding dual taxation and fiscal violations and on cooperation in social security. They also signed an intention protocol on the construction of an oil terminal in the former Liepaja military port.

The premiers devoted a great deal of attention to defense cooperation. It is envisaged to establish joint military structures following NATO's example and strengthen border protection in the East. It is planned to set up a hot line between the Baltic defense ministers.

The prime ministers decided to set up a council of ministers of the Baltic states.

Baltic, Russian Officials View Relations

MK1812102093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 4

[Viktor Zamyatin, Sergey Tsekhmistrenko report under "The Baltics' Policy Toward Russia" rubric: "The Baltics Seek Protection From NATO Against Russian Nationalists"]

[Text] Among the former USSR republics, the Baltic countries have been the most concerned over the results of the elections in Russia. The presidents of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia held an emergency summit in Tallinn which ended 15 December with the adoption of a joint statement. It contains an appeal to Europe to "pool efforts and protect the achievements of democracy in the Baltic countries in light of the support received by the national radical forces in the elections in Russia." The Baltic state leaders declared their intention to deepen cooperation with NATO, which they regard as the sole guarantor of stability in the region. Yesterday Latvian Foreign Minister Georg Andreyev kindly agreed in a telephone interview with KOMMERSANT-DAILY to comment on the Baltic states' position in general and his country's in particular with respect to Russia.

Talking about the Baltic leaders' attitude to the 12 December election results, Andreyev said: They are unanimous in that the threats made by Mr. Zhirinovskiy in the course of the election campaign "create a certain danger for the Baltic counties." So far, however, there is no cause for panic: "First, we have not yet seen the final results; second, we must see what the Russian Government will be like—as before, or basically different." On the other hand, the nationalists' success is already prompting the Baltics toward closer cooperation with NATO. According to Mr. Andreyev, "We want to define our position not to attack anyone but to make sure that our security is guaranteed by international institutions" (Estonian President Lennart Meri stated at the end of the summit that a "vacuum of security has emerged" in the Baltic region which "should be filled with the assistance of international organizations and the Western states."—KOMMERSANT-DAILY's note). If the West procrastinates over this issue, afraid of making a negative impact on the democratic processes in Russia, it will, according to the Latvian Foreign Ministry head, be making a serious mistake. In his opinion, NATO's tough policy, on the contrary, will dampen the fervor of the national radicals and will contribute to the unification of the democratic forces in Russia.

Talking about the prospects of Latvia's relations with Russia, Mr. Andreyev stressed that the long-planned meeting between Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Guntir Ulmanis, in all likelihood, will not take place. But the summit is not an end in itself and it is only possible after the next round of interstate talks on the pullout of troops, which was scheduled for 20 December (a report came in at the last moment that the negotiations have been postponed until mid-January—KOMMERSANT-DAILY's note). Riga is planning to come across with a compromise: to take the most controversial issues outside the framework of interstate talks and discuss them directly at the summit. These in particular include the final date for the withdrawal of troops and the fate of the radar station in Skrunda, which Russia would like to preserve for six years, while Latvia agrees only to two years at the most. Mr. Andreyev noted that a meeting between Ulmanis and Zhirinovskiy is possible—of course, if he takes up a fairly high post "because otherwise the president would have no reason to meet him."

The results of the elections in Russia may influence the fate of the citizenship law currently under consideration in the Latvian Saeima. What is involved is not speeding up its adoption or softening some of its provisions in favor of the Russian-speakers, who are beginning to be seen in Riga as a "fifth column." In this connection the minister noted that on this issue that "We have no illusions: Those Russian-speakers who did not have an opportunity to take part in the ballot would hardly have voted differently" than the citizens of Russia living in Latvia (according to KOMMERSANT- DAILY, 50 percent of Russian citizens living in Latvia have voted for the communists and 33 percent for the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia). The minister did not rule out a total moratorium being imposed on passing the law until the situation have been clarified—"because no laws are passed under a direct threat."

Commenting on the Baltic countries' current position with respect to Russia, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin said in an interview with KOMMERSANT-DAILY:

"One cannot help noticing that over the past two years the Baltic leaders have failed to set up normal relations with Russia—although the democrats, from whose hands they received their independence, have been in power. Long before the elections we had the impression that in their policy Latvia and Estonia proceed from Russia's allegedly intrinsic hostility toward them. Herein lies their fundamental mistake, because they will never be able to separate themselves off from Russia with a Great Wall of China. Today it is necessary to fight for a democratic Russia, and the Baltic states should make their choice in favor of friendly relations with it. And then many questions will be easier to decide than is presently the case. As for the results of the Baltic summit, the statements made there are rather emotional and do not respond to the main question: Are the Baltic states ready for friendly good-neighbor relations with Russia? And it is too soon to fall into panic over the election returns."

Characterizing Latvia's policy toward its Russian-speakers, Mr. Churkin said: "There is no need to shift all the blame onto Russia's citizens. Because when the question of the republic's independence was decided, Latvia's Russian-speakers mainly voted for it. But unfortunately, the response by the new authorities to that gesture of political trust in them was what we are seeing now: The rights of these people have been largely curtailed. As for the citizenship law, prior to 12 December, too, its draft was completely unacceptable in a number of respects from the point of view of the observance of human rights. And it is wrong to accuse the entire Russian population of being conservative: The Latvian leadership has long been pursuing a discriminatory policy with respect to the ethnic minorities."

[Article contains following boxed passage by the International Politics Department]

Commentary

Immediately after the elections, representatives of the Russian political establishment have stated on several occasions that in spite of the shocking results of the ballot, Russia's foreign political strategy remains unchanged. It can be assumed, however, that Russia's leadership will hardly stay indifferent to the fact that Mr. Zhirinovskiy's ultra-nationalist rhetoric has received support among a considerable part of the electorate. The formation of an alternative idea of protecting the national interests is therefore becoming a major task of Russia's foreign policy in the near future. Importantly, in spite of all statements, "the Zhirinovskiy phenomenon" can hardly be fully ignored. That is, of course, if the task is to divert the electorate away from him in the 1996 presidential elections.

Following the election results, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, having reaffirmed the continuity of the country's foreign policy course "as a whole," actually announced its adjustment. The Foreign Ministry, according to Kozyrev's statement, intends sharply to increase its attention toward the rights of Russian-speakers abroad, maintaining in particular the demand for granting them dual citizenship. True, in calling for a bloc with the communists to be formed on this issue ("in this our positions are close"), the minister apparently ignored the fact that it can lead to concessions on other counts.

Kozyrev, like may other democrats, pointed to the president as a guarantor of a stable foreign policy course. It is noteworthy, however, that the first foreign policy action by the "guarantor" has been an unprecedentedly sharp accusation against Ukraine made during a talk with U.S. Vice President Al Gore (Yeltsin accused Kiev of cheating the world community following Ukraine's unwillingness to become a nuclear-free state). Apparently other components of the renewed idea of protecting Russia's national interests will include a further toughening of the position on the issue of NATO expansion (and also on the question of the former USSR republics' closer integration with the bloc); greater intolerance of third-party interference in Russia's policy in the "hot spots" along the perimeter of its borders; and insistent demands to revise the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia, Iraq, and Libya, which directly affect Moscow's geopolitical and economic interests. In light of this the decision by Sergey Zotov, head of the Russian delegation at the talks with Latvia, to postpone the next round does not appear accidental. Presumably, other "advocates of a strong statehood" from Smolenskaya Square [Foreign Ministry] are also ready, in line with the new political realities, to intensify the process of developing a renewed, nationally oriented foreign policy strategy.

Black Sea Fleet Spokesman Assassination Viewed

MK1812121093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 2

[POSTFACTUM report under the "Details" rubric: "Ukrainian Secret Services Prepared Provocations in Sevastopol, Slain Chief of Black Sea Fleet's Press Center Believed"]

[Text] Aleksandr Zhilin, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI military observer, said 16 December that he spoke with Andrey Lazebnikov, chief of the Black Sea Fleet's press center, on the eve of the assassination. According to Zhilin, Lazebnikov said literally as follows: "I have acquired devastating documents on provocations being prepared in Sevastopol and Crimea by the Ukrainian security service and nationalist forces. This is a bombshell. You will have the documents by 23-25 December. They should be handed over to the Russian president and partially published in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI." Next morning Andrey Lazebnikov was killed.

"I have all the reasons to presume that this was a political assassination ordered by someone. Presently I can openly say that Andrey Lazebnikov actively joined in the struggle against forces trying to destabilize the situation in Ukraine. I will not deny that earlier he also gave me information and documents on these forces' unsavory schemes. Andrey Lazebnikov has penetrated too deeply into these structures and managed to obtain too secret information; this is why he has become dangerous. The assassination theory will be published in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI," Aleksandr Zhilin said.

Council Appeals to Crimean Officials

LD1912120093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1105 GMT 19 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Dec—The coordination council of the Black Sea Fleet officers' assemblies has distributed an appeal today to the leaders of Crimea in connection with the killing of Captain First Rank Andrey Lazebnikov, who was in charge of the Black Sea Fleet press center. Capt. Second Rank Andrey Grachev, member of the press center, has told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that the killing of the 43-year-old officer, who spoke in favor of a unified fleet, has alarmed the personnel of the fleet, public organizations in Crimea, and the inhabitants of Sevastopol.

According to Grachev, the demand by the coordination council of the Black Sea Fleet officers' assemblies to restore order in the city, to strengthen the law-enforcement bodies of Sevastopol with qualified personnel, and to conduct a more resolute struggle against criminal elements has received significant support in the fleet.

The fleet, the member of the press center pointed out, believes that the bodyguards, private detective agencies, and the illegal and semi-illegal martial arts groups that have sprung up throughout Sevastopol have become the breeding ground for criminal structures. According to the naval sailors, the city authorities are not using the forces and money they have at their disposal efficiently enough in combatting crime.

Ukrainians Serve in Georgia; To Cooperate With Russians

LD1912123593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Dec 93

[By correspondent A. Datsenko from Kiev; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A festive ceremony for awarding Georgian state awards to Ukrainian volunteers who took part in the fighting against Abkhazian separatists has been held in Kiev. We did not fight for money but for the idea, one of those who received an award said. They are all members of the Ukrainian National Assembly [UNA], an ultra-nationalist militarized organization that has declared itself to be the only defender of Ukraine's geo-political interests. We fought against Abkhaz separatists because they were supported by Russia. We were in the burnt town of Sukhumi so that Kiev was not burnt down, the Ukrainian militants said. They are now ready to damp the warlike ardor of Vladimir Zhirnovskiy who has been making threatening gestures to the near abroad. Their motto is Russia for Russians and Ukraine for Ukrainians.

[Begin recording of V. Melnik, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian National Assembly, in progress] ...the UNA has for a long time been ready and was always prepared to defend Ukrainian statehood and the Ukrainian nation at any time. It is the only force in Ukraine today that is genuinely ready to defend these symbols of ours. [end recording]

[Datsenko] However, the Ukrainian ultras are intending to cooperate with Russian national patriots provided Russians do not encroach on Ukraine's independence. Moreover, according to the leader of the Ukrainian National Assembly, Kiev should become the center of Slavic unity in the fight against Communists, and democrats of the corrupt West. Moscow, they think, is no longer suitable for this role.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 18 Dec

LD1812070793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0555 GMT 18 Dec 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 18 (ITAR-TASS)—Leading Russian newspapers continue to concentrate on the results of the general elections in Russia and the referendum on the new constitution.

The ROSSIYSKIE VESTI newspaper carries an interview with Vasiliy Selyunin, a leader of the Russia's Choice Bloc, where he notes that half of Russian people did not go to the polls at a critical moment in Russia's history.

"The turnout was the lowest as compared with all the previous polls—51-52 per cent," the author says. "this means that if we want to work in conditions which changed for the worse, we should win to our side this silent half of our society. The direction of this work is to bring closer antifascist forces."

The same newspaper quotes an opinion by member of the presidential council Andrey Zhukov who writes that "the victory by party lists of political blocs opposing the presidential team, does not mean that they will eventually have the majority in the legislature.

"Their influence will be great but not to the extent of stopping democratic changes in Russia. The approval of the new constitution will limit, to some extent, space for parliamentarians for manoeuvring which will destabilise the political situation.

Under the headline "If You Wish To Create a Fascist Front, Establish an Antifascist One", the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper runs an article pointing to the danger of setting up coalitions.

In this connection, the newspaper writes as follows: "Candidates who came to parliament from the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, think now what to do next. It would be better if they have an alternative. We should not leave them the only way out—confrontation".

The newspaper also notes that the importunate thrusting upon people of a bipolar image of the world—either the Russia's Choice Bloc or the Communist Party of Russia—left no choice to voters.

"The elections were lost not to LDPR leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy but to the 47 per cent of voters who did not go to polling stations and who rejected the proposed alternative," the newspaper stresses.

Examining reasons for the LDPR's success at the polls, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA points, among others, to the social and political role of the October 3-4 events in Moscow: "By destroying the opposition which was centrist as a whole, radical democrats paved the way for an extremist opposition".

However, the newspaper claims that the image created by the LDPR was the main factor for its victory at the December 12 elections. "Zhirinovskiy managed to create an image of his party among a considerable part of Russian people as defender of Russians' rights," the newspaper stresses.

Turning to the question of party coalitions at the new parliament, the PRAVDA newspaper puts into doubt an alliance between communists and radical democrats.

"To all appearances, Gennadiy Zyuganov (eds: Communist Party leader) and Yegor Gaydar (Russia's Choice leader) are offered to play the roles of Maurice Thorez and Leon Blum," the newspaper writes.

"However, the distance between Zyuganov and Gaydar now even greater than between the French Communist Party leader and the head of French Socialists nearly 60 years ago.

"Zyuganov's party is ready for cooperation with any sober-minded political forces, but it is highly improbable that Communists will welcome an alliance aimed at fighting another mythical enemy—Russian fascism."

The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper features replies by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to journalists' questions about the December 12 elections in Russia. In the minister's opinion, "we should not overestimate Liberal Democrats' success, since 25 per cent of half of the lower house's composition means only one-eighths of all the seats at the lower house.

"Besides, apart from Zhirinovskiy, we do not know what people came to parliament from the Liberal Democratic Party," the minister notes.

Referring to preliminary information issued by the Central Electoral Commission, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reports that 17 members of the Russian Federation voted against the new constitution.

"They are seven republics: Adyge, Bashkir, Dagestan, Karachayevo- Cherkess, Mordovia, Tuva, Chuvashia and ten regions: Belgorodskaya, Voronezhskaya, Kaluzhskaya, Kurskaya, Lipetskaya, Orlvoskaya, Smolenskaya and Tambovskaya.

"The referendum failed in Tatarstan due to a low turnout. However, 74 per cent of those who came to polling stations, voted for the constitution," the newspaper writes.

Reviews Itogi Program

LD2012081593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0634 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—The "Itogi" TV news programme broadcast on Sunday night focused on the results of parliamentary elections in Russia.

The host of the programme, Yevgeniy Kiselev, said that the results of elections should not be dramatized, although "Russia had given another surprise to the world" by "an unbelievable success of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's party and poor results showed by parties of democratic orientation."

Political expert Lilia Shevtsova believes that the elections are important in terms of tendencies they have disclosed: a break between the authorities and a considerable part of society; the defeat of the ruling bloc which split seems to be unavoidable. The present results is "a reaction to September events which blew up deterring factors and a ban which existed in society," Shevtsova said.

"Itogi" believes that the results of the vote have revealed the most important thing that the country had not gone mad and had not fallen into an abyss of unpredictability.

As for Tatarstan, where the elections were hot held because of poor turnout, its vice-president Vasiliy Lichachev believes that "today, the majority of Tatarstan' residents regard themselves as citizens living an a free republic, which resolves problems of the state and legal development in a civilized manner and on the basis of the norms of the Russian constitution, the constitution of tatarstan and international law. Some priorities advocated by Zhirinovskiy and priorities advocated in tatarstan which are prompted by life itself have something in common to some

extent. The general conclusion is as follows: policy and politicians win if they firmly stand on the ground."

"Itogi" said that the results of public opinion polls showed that many of those who had predicted the victory of the "Russia's Choice" bloc actually voted for Zhirinovskiy's party but refrained from openly saying so. The majority of these respondents are representatives of intelligentsia. The situation was very much similar to that in Lithuania when Brazauskas won the elections, "Itogi" pointed out.

Leonid Smirnyagun, head of a political geography laboratory of the Moscow State University, believes that Zhirinovskiy received the votes of those who believed that the more absurd his programme was, the more grounds the they had for voting for him to show their negative attitude to what was going on.

Political expert Georgiy Satarov pointed out that the results of the elections can be accounted for the by the existence of a large group of the population inclined to see a paternal policy pursued by the state and which is slow enough to adapt to new conditions. When Zhirinovskiy was left alone face-to-face with this social strata of some 40-45 per cent, naturally, he took their votes, whereas votes in favour of democrats were split.

In the opinion of the master of philosophical sciences Igor Klyamkin, speaking about Zhirinovskiy's success, one should bear in mind that over the past 1.5 years there was a man in Russia's political atrea who had a stable high rating which almost equalled the number of votes received by Zhirinovskiy during elections. This is Russia's Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy who has left his political niche and Zhirinovskiy took his place.

"Itogi" quoted Aleksey Mitrofanov, foreign minister of Zhirinovskiy's shadow cabinet as saying that currently, his party was preparing a number of important and balanced documents for the president. The main subject of these document is Russia's way in future.

In conclusion, the host of the Itogi programme commented on a political programmes showed by Ostankino television on the night from 12 to 13 December. Kiselev described the programme as political farce which logically culminated in the resignation of the head of the Ostankino company, Vyacheslav Bragin.

The results of the elections have triggered resignations of other leading political figures, in particular. Presidential adviser Sergey Stankevich. Apparently, serious cabinet reshuffling might take place in the near future, the host said.

As for "The Sunday" [Voskresenye] news programme, it pointed out that paradoxes of unexpected things and the return of former leaders to the "big politics" is common practice in all recent elections in different countries first the left-wing parties won in Lithuania and second, in Poland. Analysts say that the return of former communists is one of the successful and quick re-orientation to democracy.

Gore Meets St. Petersburg Mayor Sobchak

PM2012114393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Dec 93 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Gore Changes Itinerary"]

[Text] U.S. Vice President Albert Gore laid a wreath at the monument to the Motherland and honored the memory of the dead at Piskarev cemetery.

The U.S. guest met with Anatoliy Sobchak, the mayor of St. Petersburg, and the city's public. Today he leaves St. Petersburg not in the afternoon, as planned, but in the morning, and flies not to Germany but to Hungary to take part in the funeral of the country's prime minister, Jozsef Antall.

Aspin Resignation, Inman Nomination Pondered

PM2012145393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Vladimir Nadein report: "Unavaricious Admiral Appointed To Replace Irresolute Minister"]

[Text] Washington—Not even a day has passed since President Clinton appointed a successor to the suddenly dismissed U.S secretary of defense. The seat of 55-year-old Les Aspin will be occupied by 62-year-old Bobby Inman. The formal handover of power will take place 20 January.

The career details of both the outgoing and the incoming secretary of defense look very similar. But this similarity is only apparent, and the differences which it conceals are substantial. Les Aspin is a professional politician who for many years headed the U.S. House of Representatives Armed Services Committee. By definition he belongs to the category of people of whom the professional military are none too fond. In the opinion of the military, legislators stick their noses into everything, do not understand anything properly, and always grant too little money.

Admiral Bobby Ray Inman, once number two in the Navy and then in the CIA, has been retired on pension since 1982. He has a remarkable reputation as a clever man and a hard worker, and has friends in both parties.

Among the major mistakes attributed to Aspin is his refusal to ship tanks to Somalia shortly before the battles in which 18 Americans were killed, and his inability to handle Congress and implement changes in legislation which would have allowed homosexuals to serve in the Army. The latter was one of the elements of Clinton's election program.

Les Aspin is the first member of Clinton's government to be asked to resign. A month ago there were stubborn rumors that Secretary of State Warren Christopher was threatened with the same for failures in Bosnia and Haiti. However, so far matters have been limited to the number two in the Department of State, and nothing further is being said about the secretary of state.

Les Aspin was the main initiator of "Partnership for Peace"—a new program which NATO decided to offer to Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. These countries were insisting on early admission to this military political organization. The program appeared after strong objections from Russia—as a compromise bringing these countries closer to NATO, but postponing their final integration.

Although Aspin's removal is in no way connected with the parliamentary elections in Russia, some observers believe that it could serve as a justification for serious modifications in "Partnership for Peace." The U.S. President's administration is being subjected to serious criticism for concessions to Russia that many people here are describing as a "second Yalta."

At a meeting of NATO heads of state in Brussels, which is to take place shortly before Clinton's first visit to Russia, the U.S. President will present the final version of the program to his colleagues. It cannot be ruled out that the wave of chauvinism which elevated Zhirinovskiy and has seriously frightened Europe will make NATO members treat the requests of the former Warsaw Pact members more favorably than was initially the case.

After his retirement in 1982, Adm. Bobby Inman headed the boards of directors of several industrial and financial corporations in the state of Texas, but his abilities in financial affairs proved not as impressive as in military affairs. In particular, the admiral just could not get used to the "greed and avarice" of private firms.

Inman's confirmation by Congress is expected to go ahead without difficulties. Inman becomes the second secretary of defense in the country's entire history—since George Marshall—to occupy this governmental post, which is designed exclusively for civilians, after completing the career of a professional military man.

Army Paper Views Resignation

PM2012121593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 2

[Mikhail Pogorelyy article: "What Is Behind Les Aspin's Resignation: Physical Or Political Ailment?"]

[Text] The report from Washington of Pentagon chief Les Aspin's resignation cannot be said to have come as a total surprise. People had been talking about this possibility ever since the U.S. defense secretary had an operation to be fitted with a pacemaker. However, his heart trouble did not stop him carrying out his duties as long as a relatively calm political atmosphere favorable to the incumbent U.S. Administration prevailed in Washington. Over the last few months, however, the situation has begun to heat up.

Aspin and President Clinton first "fell out" after the latter decided to give the go-ahead for homosexuals to serve in the U.S. Armed Forces. This decision not only gave rise to covert disapproval among the military leadership, it did not please the defense secretary either. It was then that there began to be talk that the President was unhappy with Pentagon officials' overly radical views of the prospects for a solution to the Yugoslav crisis. Clearly the course of

events in Somalia also did not help increase the prestige of all U.S. Government departments responsible for foreign policy. And over the last month people in Washington have begun to talk of the possibility of personnel changes in these departments.

Needless to say, objective analysis of U.S. Government foreign policy activity indicates that it would hardly be fair to blame the U.S. military for the country's failures in a number of international actions. The State Department must bear far greater responsibility for the rather serious crisis in this sphere. It was the failure to work out the fundamental principles behind U.S. troop actions in Somalia and the vague legal basis for their peacekeeping efforts in that country that led to the death of several dozen soldiers—despite the fact that the successes of the peacekeeping activity have been extremely dubious, and Somalia, by its own leaders' admission, is on the brink of civil war.

The ill-considered correlation between the humanitarian use of troops abroad and their peacekeeping functions is not the fault but the misfortune of diplomats and politicians, not only on the U.S. side moreover. NATO does not have a readymade remedy for this either, and UN headquarters is unwilling to make recommendations. It would consequently be unjustified to reproach the military leadership for the stalemate in resolving the Yugoslav, Somali, and Haitian conflicts (many of which have deep domestic political roots). However, two or three weeks ago the U.S. press gave the names of other "scapegoats" who are very likely to quit their ministerial posts. They include, in addition to Aspin, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, presidential security adviser Anthony Lake, and CIA chief James Woolsey....

Aspin seems to have decided not to wait to be ousted, but to quit without the disgrace of being pulled to pieces during lengthy Congressional debates. The formal excuse given—heart trouble—is quite decent and respectable. Disagreements with the President did not figure in his resignation application. Although it is quite possible that differing views of Russian problems were the straw that broke the camel's back. It was Aspin, discussing Clinton's "Partnership for Peace" program, who proposed "putting pressure" on Moscow in order to get it to agree to a number of East European states becoming full members of NATO. The cautious, pragmatic Clinton preferred not to pile on the pressure, but to develop mutually beneficial relations where partnership is not forced, but seen by all parties as a conscious necessity.

Meanwhile the U.S. President has submitted his candidate for the post of defense secretary. It is up to the Senate to ratify him. However, 62-year-old retired Admiral Robert Inman can be said to be well known in the United States. He is a personal friend of the previous president and won respect as a senior official in the Ford, Carter, and Reagan-Bush administrations. Robert Inman comes from naval intelligence; under Carter he was head of the National Security Agency and under Reagan first deputy director of the CIA. Since his retirement he has been involved in business. Thus Inman may be the first military man (albeit retired) in charge of the U.S. Defense Department for a long time.

Former Intelligence Officer Convicted of Spying for U.S.

LD2012141493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Vyacheslav Baranov, a former high-ranking officer at the Main Intelligence Directorate, has been convicted of high treason in the form of spying by the Military Collegium of Russia's Supreme Court.

While on a duty visit abroad in the late 1980s, he offered his services to the Americans. According to Interfax, Baranov has been sentenced to six years in an intensive regime colony with confiscation of property.

Adamishin Comments on NATO Membership Policy

LD1812223993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1250 GMT 18 Dec 93

[From the "Money and Politics" program]

[Editorial Report] This week's edition of Money and Politics analyzed the recent Russian elections. Present in the studio were Anatoliy Adamishin, first deputy foreign minister, who won a seat in the State Duma for the Yabloko bloc; and academician Vitaliy Zhurkin, who heads the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute for European Studies.

They discussed why foreign policy played such a minor role in the campaign and wondered if Zhirinovskiy's success was because he was the only candidate who talked about the situation of Russians in the close foreign countries.

Adamishin was asked about the Foreign Ministry's position on the expansion of NATO membership. He replied: "NATO's current stance is that it will not accept a Russian veto on admittance of new members. This means that we cannot decide for NATO whether it should admit Poland, the Czech Republic, or Slovakia, for example. This coincides with our position in general, when we say, yes, these are entirely sovereign states that can decide for themselves what to do. However, when you tackle issues like this you should take other interests into account, including Russia's interests. If you draw the borders of a military-political bloc right up to the borders of Russia without arranging specific relations and cooperation with Russia, then this could bring about an undesired reaction.

"This is not of course in our interests. The question of whether to admit new members should be taken off the agenda now, but that is not to say that it should be removed completely."

Interviewed on Ties With Ukraine

LD1712185993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1439 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] In an interview with INTERFAX, Russia's First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin said that relations with Ukraine are of foremost importance for Russia. "While Russia's ability to survive does not depend on its relationship with the U.S., the very survival of Russia depends on the development of its relations with Ukraine because of the quality of this relationship and because of agreements signed in the area of disarmament," he stressed.

According to Adamishin, the present state of relations between Russia and Ukraine is "very tough." "And what is most unpleasant, a way out of this predicament is not in evidence. I find it hard to give a clear prescription for how to normalize our relations with Ukraine," the diplomat said. "It's obvious that we must try to find a common language, that meticulous work is required every day, that a maximum of efforts should be exerted in this area; nevertheless, many problems will be hard to resolve."

The diplomat singled out the problem of nuclear disarmament, the division of the Black Sea Fleet, and issues connected with humanitarian and economic cooperation.

Further on Ukraine Ties

LD2012143893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1220 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Russian First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin described the status of Russo-Ukrainian relations as "alarming." He told Interfax that the serious problems between the two countries such as nuclear weapons, the Black Sea Fleet, and the status of Sevastopol would hardly be resolved before the general elections that are scheduled to be held in Ukraine on March 27.

Adamishin said that in this light it was important not to allow the situation to deteriorate. In his view, the relations between the two states could be improved by non-governmental contacts and cooperation between Russia and Ukraine on the international scene "because our interests are largely identical."

He said that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the LDPR leader, would have no impact on Russian foreign policy, while "the State Duma will have an insignificant influence on Russian policy, if at all."

German Foreign Minister Arrives for Visit

Reiterates Support for Reform

LD1812131693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1148 GMT 18 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Nikolay Kalintsev and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Dec—Germany has always supported the democratic reformist forces in Russia, as embodied by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, Klaus Kinkel, the head of Germany's foreign policy department, stated today in reply to questions from journalists upon arrival at Vnukovo-2 airport. Germany continues to stake on supporting this course, he stressed. Klaus Kinkel congratulated the Russian leaders on the adoption of the new Constitution which, in his opinion, creates "a clear framework for the course of radical reforms to continue."

Of course, the internal political development in Russia after the 12 December elections will become the subject of our conversations, Klaus Kinkel continued. Germany, just like the entire world, without exaggeration, is closely following the situation in Russia which is called upon to become a democratic country with a stable economy and which, undoubtedly, will take up a fitting place in the world community.

In the course of the conversations in Moscow and Suzdal, there will also be a discussion of the situation in Yugoslavia in the light of the upcoming meeting of foreign ministers of the European Union in Brussels, where one more attempt will be made to find a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav conflict "prior to the terrible winter."

Klaus Kinkel noted that problems of European security, in the context of the upcoming NATO Council summit in Brussels in January 1994, will occupy an important place in his talks with Andrey Kozyrev. Answering an ITAR-TASS correspondent's question, Klaus Kinkel stressed that in Brussels "it is expected that an indication will be given to the former Warsaw Treaty countries on their joining the NATO." He said that the NATO will be developing cooperation with these states in such spheres as planning of the joint peace- keeping missions, joint military exercises, and professional training. Thus, a "safety network" will be gradually created in Europe.

Ending his news conference in the airport, Andrey Kozyrev said that the results of elections to the Russian Federal Assembly "will not affect either foreign or home policy of the country," because Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin will continue to act as a guarantor of these policies.

The minister believes that one should not dramatize and exaggerate the significance of the elections and, in particular, the success of Zhirinovskiy's party. Jointly with our Western partners, we now need to work on strengthening security in Europe. The Russia-Germany axis is "one of the buttresses which ensures stability and democratic processes throughout Europe, including in the east of the continent," he stressed.

Andrey Kozyrev congratulated Klaus Kinkel on his birthday which, according to him, he is celebrating in a circle of friends in Suzdal.

In connection with the aircraft-grounding weather, the foreign ministers of Russia and Germany were unable to fly to Suzdal in helicopters, and travelled there in cars.

Tomorrow Klaus Kinkel's unofficial visit to Russia will end.

Comments on Election Results

AU1812193593 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1800 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Interview with Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel by an unidentified correspondent in Moscow on 18 December—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Will Russia continue to be a partner of the West after the elections? Will Moscow's foreign policy continue to be predictable?

[Kinkel] We very much hope that Russia will continue to be a reliable partner, just as we want to continue to be a reliable partner for Russia. Of course, the new European security architecture will have to be discussed at the NATO summit. However, the reports on Yeltsin's meeting in Brussels are absolutely wrong. There was no controversy. This has been denied.

We will now have to discuss whether the results of the extremists will have any effects. I am warning against dramatizing them.

[Correspondent] What can Bonn do to enable Russia to move into this European house?

[Kinkel] We will have to politically support the process. One has to support the reformers, but one also has to tell them that they now have to move closer together. One will have to take political action against the extremists. In the first place, however, Russia has to do this itself. Russia has its place in this European house.

Discusses Economic, Cultural Issues

LD1912153593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1436 GMT 19 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Nikolay Kalintsev and Georgiy Smelev]

[Text] Moscow, 19th Dec—More than 40 issues with regard to developing bilateral cooperation as well as topical international and regional problems were discussed during German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel's unofficial visit to Russia, which lasted almost two days, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said in a conversation with journalists at Vnukovo-2 airport.

In particular, he said, economic and cultural cooperation between Russia and Germany were discussed, including the issue of opening new consulates and representations of the two countries and of establishing a mission for a German economic representative in Moscow. Our relations with Germany, Kozyrev noted, are based on partnership. The Germany-Russia axis is not directed against other countries but is the engine that is building the new Europe and strengthening European security.

In his turn, Kinkel noted while speaking to journalists that he called on western partners not to dramatize the situation following the elections in Russia. Its foreign and internal course remains unchanged, and Russian President Boris Yeltsin is the guarantor of this, as before.

In his opinion, it is now particularly important to develop bilateral relations between Germany and Russia at the level of regions and cities in every way possible.

Replying to the question of an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev said one of the main problems discussed in Moscow and Suzdal was the problem of the settlement in Bosnia. The minister announced that Vitaliy Churkin, special envoy of the Russian president and Russian deputy foreign minister, was leaving by air on a visit to several European capitals. Churkin will put forward a number of initiatives to end the process of the Bosnian settlement as soon as possible. We would like to discuss them with our European partners, Kozyrev said. If the sides in the conflict say "yes", the question of lifting the sanctions will arise, he pointed out. If they say "no", they will have to deal with a joint reaction from the European countries.

Expressing gratitude to the Russian leadership for supporting the European Union in its efforts to resolve the problem, Klaus Kinkel said representatives of 12 countries of the European Union will make an attempt to resolve the Bosnian problem by peaceful means on 22 December in Brussels. Russian considerations on the issue, he said, are an integral part of the negotiating process with the warring sides.

Ceremony for Troop Withdrawal From Germany Detailed

LD1712134893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1243 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—The withdrawal of Russian troops from Germany will end in August 1994 with a torch procession of the guard of honour companies of the Western Army Group and Bundeswehr by the streets of Berlin. Colonel General Matvey Burlakov, commander-in-chief of the Western Army Group, told journalists about the plan of the farewell ceremony for the Western Army Group. According to Burlakov, the plan was submitted to President Yeltsin and got his approval. "The reaction of the German side to the plan is rather passive, and they have not yet given a clear answer whether they agree with us or not," he said.

The plan of the farewell ceremony is divided into two stages. The first stage will begin on April 21-24, 1994. It will include the "meeting on the Elbe River" of war veterans from the anti-Hitler coalition. The decade of the Soviet soldiers, killed in Germany, will be held between May 1 and May 10. During those ten days officers and men of the Western Army Group will tidy soldiers' graves in Germany. Mourning services will be held in Orthodox churches, located in Germany, on May 10.

The second stage will take place on August 3 and 4. A farewell ceremony for the remaining part of the Western Army Group will be held at the Treptow-Park. It is expected to be attended by President Yeltsin and Chancellor Helmut Kohl. A celebration meeting will be held on

the occasion of completion of the troops withdrawal with the participation of leaders of the two countries, foreign and defence ministers. According to Burlakov, the German side did not agree to holding the ceremony in the Reichstag. At night music groups of the Russian Defence Ministry, the Western Army Group and Bundeswehr will give joint concerts in the streets of Berlin. The ceremony will end with a torch procession with the participation of Russian and German soldiers. On the next day a round-table conference will be held, in which war veterans and historians from Russia, Germany, the U.S., Britain and France will be held in the Berlin office of the Russian Embassy.

According to Burlakov, the plan of the withdrawal of Russian troops from Germany is being successfully implemented. Five armies out of six, deployed there on January 1, 1993, 19 divisions out of 22 and 47,000 servicemen, which makes 87.3 per cent of the plan, have already been withdrawn from Germany. By today 103,000 units of military hardware (92.7 per cent of the plan), 2,333,000 tonnes of equipment (89.6 per cent of the plan), including 654,000 tonnes of ammunition have been removed from Germany. 649 out of 777 cantonments of the Western Army Group have been turned over to the German side.

Burlakov stressed that the creation of proper living conditions for the troops in the new areas of deployment continues to be an acute problem. Only 20 per cent of officers and non-commissioned officers will be provided with flats by the end of 1993.

Kozyrev Says Austria Approves Initiative on Bosnia

LD2012142693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1320 GMT 20 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev met his Austrian counterpart Alois Mock on Monday [20 December] to discuss the Russian new peace plan for Bosnia and said Mock had approved of the initiative.

"We are currently drafting with our partners a joint approach to the initiative" which is to be discussed at a meeting of EC foreign ministers in Brussels on December 22, Kozyrev told reporters after the meeting.

"Several variants are being discussed. They can be offered to the conflicting sides, in case talks on Yugoslav settlement fail, as a demand of the community for reaching a comrpomise and ending the conflict especially in conditions of a harsh winter," Kozyrev said.

The Russian foreign minister stressed that he had "a very interesting conversation" with mock on bilateral and regional problems.

Mock, who is in Moscow to attend "the greater Europe" international conference, said Russia is facing complicated problems after elections and that it is necessary for the West to support democratic transformations and the course of President Boris Yeltsin.

He added that the success of nationalist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in Russian elections would not negatively affect relations with Austria. This is a certain dark spot, it is unpleasant, but its importance should not be exaggerated, the minister said and added that he had extended to the Russian president an invitation to visit Austria "in convenient time."

Fedorov Interviewed on G-7 Talks

LD1812114293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1127 GMT 18 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS corrrespondent Nikita Yermakov]

[Text] Paris December 18 TASS—Russia has been participating in the dialogue with the G7 industrialised nations for several years, but the dialogue was especially active this year, Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov said in an interview with ITAR-TASS and the Ostankino TV and Radio Broadcasting Company on Saturday.

The minister summed up the results of a meeting between representatives from the G7 heads of state and government, which was held in Paris on Friday. The meeting was also attended by the Russian Finance Minister.

The forum examined results of cooperation between Russia and the seven industrialised countries over the current year, the state of the economy and results of the elections in Russia as well as how they will influence Russia's relations with the international community, he continued.

The Russian political situation evoked additional interest. All were eager to know: what a Russian economic policy will be like and what reasons were behind the present poll results.

"We agreed that the results were not provoked by reforms but by their inconsistency, insufficient speed and progress. If we had covered the way traversed in two years within 12 months, we would have advanced much further, and people would have voted differently," the minister added.

Fedorov said that he conveyed to Paris meeting participants letters from Russian President Boris Yeltsin addressed to the G7 heads of state and government.

They confirm the course for economic reforms, financial stabilisation and a policy spelled out in a russian government statement of November 5. The letters stress that the referendum results on the constitution show progress in democratic changes.

It is very important that the president, right after the elections, clearly described the situation and confirmed the course for continuing reforms, the minister stressed.

Discussing relations between Russia and the G7, the meeting examined the package of understandings reached

at the Tokyo summit. The forum noted in what spheres headway was made, and where progress was modest, Fedorov added.

"the general conclusion is as follows: our contacts with the G7 have become much better this year. Progress was achieved in several spheres, but there is also quite a number of problems which should be settled, while preparing for the coming summit of the heads of state and government in naples," the minister underlined.

It was not planned to take any decisions in paris, he went on to say. "In the past, the G7 summits in London and Munich were held with the participation of our delegations, after which the sides departed for their countries, waiting for the next meeting," Fedorov said.

But it would turn out later, that nothing was done. "We have adopted another tactic now: we should meet constantly and discuss emerging problems," he said. For instance, insufficient progress was achieved under the programme of small businesses. Therefore, the programme should be given a push.

There were also delays with the opening of the G7 office in moscow, it will be opened in the near future, and its head will be appointed. In this way, we studied cooperation in specific spheres.

Russia will evidently be invited to the next summit to be held in naples, the minister noted. The meeting will be held, as the previous ones, according to the formula "Seven Plus One".

"we cannot hope for more while there is political instability and unhealthy economy in russia. Nevertheless, it will be the fourth summit with our participation," Fedorov underlined.

Another political picture is shaping up. Russia joins the world leading nations as an equal partner. "We do not demand that money be given quick. The main thing is not money but real changes, our policy and how the seven industrialised nations can help Russia but not with handouts," he said.

The Russian government should make substantial achievements which could be felt by common people. The main thing is concrete accomplishments and not talk about billions, the minister concluded.

Gaydar in Budapest, Comments on East European Trade

LD1812152393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1446 GMT 18 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Zhirnikhin]

[Text] Budapest December 18 TASS—East European market has been a priority problem for the Russian Government since 1992, first Russian Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar told an exclusive ITAR-TASS interview here today. Gaydar is staying in Budapest as a personal representative of the president and head of a Russian delegation to attend the funeral of Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall.

A major reason for crisis of trade between Central and East European states and Russia was breaking of traditional state barter deals and sharp drop of the rouble exchange rate, said Gaydar. All this hampered exports from Central and East European nations to Russia.

Today the situation is favorable for "quick expansion" of East European trade, including Hungarian, to the Russian market. Firstly, a real convertibility on current operations of the East European currencies and the Russian rouble has been achieved to overcome the acute deficit of hard currency. Secondly, market mechanisms and institutions are being formed to provide for the trade. Thirdly, the real rouble exchange rate to the dollar is gradually rising. Thus, the Russian market will again be open to East European trade, said the first vice-premier.

"If we manage to prevent the formation of powerful protectionist barriers between markets of former European socialist states and achieve progress in negotiations on trade regime, we can also progress towards the creation of a free economic zone in the area.

"To my mind, this will help stabilize the economy of both Russia and Central and East European states," said Gaydar.

Asked about the Central and East European alarm over the recent parliament elections, Gaydar said there are things he does not like either but the Russian policy will not change as the president has enough powers.

The parliament will have large democratic factions to support the stable state policy. There is no grounds for panic, said the first vice-premier.

Environment Minister Meets Slovak Counterpart

LD1712184693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1403 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS string correspondent Aleksandr Shuvalov]

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—Slovakian Minister for the Environment Jozef Zlochi visited Moscow from December 14-17 at the invitation of Russian minister for the Environment and Natural Resources Viktor Danilov-Danilyan. The sides discussed problems of ecological cooperation.

They noted that there was much in common between the Russian and Slovakian nature-protecting methods. Both ministers believe that cooperation between the two countries should be primarily focused on the protection of the atmosphere from pollution, on environmental monitoring, and on the effort to discard, render harmless, and utilise household, industrial, and agricultural wastes, on the improvement of the environment in all the populated localities.

The sides are also plan to exchange information on new ecologically clean nature protection techniques, on the establishment of databanks containing information on various aspects of scientific, engineering and business activities in the sphere of ecology, on the elaboration of scientific and technological programmes, and on steps to promote their implementation.

Yeltsin Adviser Defines 'Sphere of Influence'

AU2012122993 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 15 Dec 93 p 5

[Interview with Dmitriy Ryurikov, foreign policy adviser to President Boris Yeltsin, by Petra Prochazkova and Jaromir Stetina in Moscow; date not given: "You No Longer Need To Be Afraid of Us"]

[Text] Dmitriy Ryurikov, adviser to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, is considered to be the chief author of Kremlin foreign policy. As Boris Yeltsin's closest collaborator, he also participates in the formation of the president's fundamental decisions concerning international relations. He has prepared Yeltsin's visit to Brussels, his talks with NATO representatives, and he advised Yeltsin what stand to take regarding the endeavors of some European states to join NATO.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Mr. Ryurikov could you explain to us what is meant by the "sphere of Russian influence?"

[Ryurikov] The sphere of Russian influence is, at least theoretically, the same as the spheres of interest of the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, etc. From the vantage point of international law and political philosophy, the notions of the spheres of interest of Russia and the Central European countries do not differ. It is a matter of economic interests, the protection of the interests of the country's citizens, and the safeguarding of the country's security. Thus, Russia is also the sphere of interest of the Czech Republic.

The main difference lies in the size of these states. Furthermore, the defense of the security of Russia requires more effort and military-economic potential than in the case of small countries. It is just a matter of dimension.

We tried to explain clearly to the world, including Europe, that Russia is not the Soviet Union and the principles of its foreign policy do not differ from those of other civilized countries.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] President Boris Yeltsin reiterated in Brussels that Russia cannot allow the countries of Central and Eastern Europe to join NATO. Do you believe that the admission of the Czech Republic to NATO would disrupt the aforementioned sphere of Russian influence?

[Ryurikov] I do not recall Boris Nikolayevich saying anything like that. On the contrary, during his visits to Poland, the Czech Republic, and the Slovak Republic, he spoke about Russia not being able to view the endeavors of these countries to join NATO in any other way but with respect for the rights of sovereign countries. On the other hand, Russia has the right to its sovereign opinion on its own security and on cooperation with NATO. This opinion must also be respected.

Let us look at the endeavors of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe to join NATO from the point of view of Russia's security. In Brussels, we and NATO assured each other of our friendship. This raises the question: What is the reason for the military-political association approaching our border? We have the right to ask this. Any military-political association implies, let us say, the image of an enemy. If Russia is not the enemy, who is?

If NATO was to expand, it would bring about several practical problems. How to respond and what measures to adopt? To move such a huge military bloc toward our border would require immense expenditure and other economic steps. There are no political, philosophical, or ideological differences between NATO, Central Europe, and Russia.

Russia is seeking to enter Europe as a full-fledged partner. If all this is true, why create some new lines dividing Europe? This is even insulting to Russia. After all, Russian democrats are trying to create an entirely new image of Russia's relations with the rest of the world, particularly through domestic policy.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Did the Brussels talks between Russia and NATO refer to the geographical demarcation of the border between the spheres of interest?

[Ryurikov] There cannot even be any talks between Russia and NATO about the division of spheres of interest. We can only speak about such an influence as is dictated by real-life interests—the development of economic, human, and political relations. You certainly do not feel in the Czech Republic the adverse influence of Russia as you felt it under the USSR. We withdrew the army from Central Europe—they were Soviet, not Russian troops. By next August, we will withdraw our troops from Germany. It is not fair to interpret the notion of influence in the old sense of the word.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Nevertheless, concern has been expressed in the Czech press over recent events in Russia. We are referring to the report by Foreign Intelligence Service Director Yevgeniy Primakov, the new military doctrine, the use of the Russian Army as so-called peacekeeping forces in Georgia, the letter from President Yeltsin to certain Western countries.... Does all this not indicate an increase in the sphere of influence of army structures in Russia?

[Ryurikov] If the leadership of the Central and East European countries endeavors to join NATO, Russia has to react. Moreover, it is nothing out of the ordinary that foreign intelligence experts have commented precisely now, before the January NATO summit. Of course, the "Report on the Possibilities of NATO Expansion and Russia's Interests" prepared by foreign intelligence does not represent official Russian doctrine.

The military doctrine was in preparation for more than one year. It has been analyzed by the Security Council of

Russia several times and it is a document corresponding to the parameters of a civilized and democratic country. I do not see anything expansionist in it.

The Russian Army as a peacekeeping force: Russian observers, together with CSCE and UN observers, attempted to prevent a deterioration of the situation in Georgia. Unfortunately, the conflict continued. Just ask Shevardnadze now what the role of the Russian troops in Georgia is. Their role in the Dniester region is also sufficiently well known. In Tajikistan, Russian border guards cooperate with Uzbek and Kyrgyz border guards. The situation would be much less stable without them. The operation of our troops in the CIS countries represents a tremendous financial burden for Russia.

Some countries cannot comprehend the role of the Russian peacekeeping forces. I emphasize that the Russian troops are in these countries at the invitation of the leadership of these states. We are not forcing anyone to do anything. The opinions on this differ even in the Russian Army itself. The times are gone when the life of a soldier had no value, as was the case under the USSR. The situation certainly is not simple for Russia and I am surprised by the view that Russia is reviving its imperialist ambitions. Imperialists would act differently.

The letter from Boris Yeltsin expressed the stand of Russia regarding the expansion of NATO. It stated that Russia respects the sovereign choice made by the European states that wish to join NATO. On the other hand, it also expressed the opinion of Russia. The letter emphasized that Russia was ready for more active relations with NATO, even more active than some of the states wishing to join NATO.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Some versions of this letter appeared in the Czech Republic. We are not certain that they are authentic. We believe that it would be better for relations between our two states if we knew the exact text of the letter that involves us. Could you provide us with a copy?

[Ryurikov] It is not customary for letters sent between people to be published. We are trying to build a new Russia. You no longer need to be afraid of us.

New Regional Security System Urged for Europe

PM1712112593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 3

["Viewpoint" by Candidate of Legal Sciences Vladimir Sytenko of the Russian Strategic Research Institute: "How to Break the Vicious Circle: Global and Regional Security"]

[Text] The philosophers claim that development proceeds in spirals. Why then is it sometimes so reminiscent of a closed circle? For example, we repeat in the manner of an incantation that the fundamental changes in the world are bringing Europe stability and security. We seem to be just a few steps away from that goal. Then we take those steps but, instead of coming closer to the the goal, we find ourselves farther from it.

Yes, the bipolar world has been replaced by a multipolar one. But this has not closed the gap in the economic development of various countries or the prosperity of their peoples. Yes, the disarmament process is under way. But it has embraced only a part of the vast arsenals stockpiled in the world. And in some other parts of the world the arms race is not even slowing down. It is in progress, for example, to the south of Russia in a region which by the year 2010 will be home to almost half of mankind and where the pressure of resettlement, economic underdevelopment, degradation of the environment, and shortage of food and drinking water is becoming intolerable.

The tense economic situation is creating here a desire to resolve all problems by force, especially as such practices had been widely used by now-flourishing countries and proved productive. But now we are again hearing arguments about the right of "democratic states" to forcibly impose their concept of democracy on "undemocratic regimes." Is this another case of the division of the world into the "clean" and the "unclean," with its inevitable bipolar confrontation?

Furthermore, national and religious problems are increasingly often leading to a trial of strength, and that is a long way from the real interests of the peoples. Violence is growing rapidly. Once again the familiar refrain is to be heard: We are the victims, they the villains. Once more groupings and coalitions are being formed ready to shed the blood of kinsmen.

So does this mean that to guarantee stability it is necessary to preserve the existing military-political alliances which were created by the bloc relations of the recent past and to reproduce them over and over?

The threat of aggression, which is increasingly straining international relations, is making it even harder to renounce bloc approaches—which is difficult enough to do anyway. References to the lack of an obvious enemy do not change the fact that the military-organizational development of a number of countries even now is aimed at defeating an enemy and is being conducted on the basis of collective security guaranteed by the use of force—not international security, let us note, but collective or group security.

There you have it, that vicious, closed circle which, despite a clearly perceived desire to enter the realms of universal security, is forcing mankind time and again to slip back into the rut of disastrous confrontation.

Where is the way out then?

It is absolutely clear that in present conditions stability and security can be guaranteed not by military-political blocs and alliances but by cooperation within the framework of the United Nations and other international and regional organizations.

The ending of the Cold War and the establishment of mutual understanding within the UN Security Council, especially among its permanent members, enable increasingly effective use to be made of the world community's

structures to achieve the harmonization of international relations. However, the multipolar nature and greatly increased interdependence of the world along with the destabilization of the situation in a number of regions impose on the United Nations tasks which exceed the potential of its central structures. Is this an impasse? No; the way out is to strengthen regional security systems within the UN framework and to have a more active reliance on them by the Security Council. The basis here could be Article 53 of the UN Charter, which says that "where appropriate" the Security Council is entitled to use "regional agreements or agencies for coercive actions under its leadership."

Consequently, the need to create regional security systems is becoming paramount today. In some parts of the world such systems already exist. When we speak about them it is the CSCE which comes to mind first of all. Uniting within its ranks not only the European countries, the United States, and Canada but also a number of Asian states which used to belong to the USSR, the CSCE is constantly growing in prestige and becoming an increasingly weighty factor in world politics. That was shown clearly by the recent CSCE Council session in Rome. But at the same time it is obvious that this organization has still not established its identity. It is too amorphous and has no effective mechanisms, instruments, or material resources for implementing its policy.

Even though the CSCE's attempts to find its place in the world are fraught with contradictions, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the future belongs to regional security and cooperation organizations of that kind. Something similar is in prospect in the Asia and Pacific region and in Southeast Asia. Russia has supported such a development a number of times.

Incidentally, history and geography have assigned Russia an exceptional role in this process. It is a Eurasian power and by virtue of that geopolitical fact should serve as a bridge linking regional security systems on the western and eastern borders of the Eurasian landmass. It falls to Russia to be the link that will eventually forge into a single chain the security systems "from Vancouver to Vladivostok" and "from Vladivostok to Vancouver."

But all these things are in the long term and in a future which I would like to hope will not be all that distant. For the time being, however, only Europe has moved further than the other regions in the possible transition from a group, collective, and essentially bloc-based security system to a regional form of guaranteeing security. The process which began in Helsinki is tending to expand its framework and gradually become deeper.

Another question arises here: What is the correlation between the regional security system embodied, for example, in the CSCE and the group or bloc form, which NATO has personified for so many years now? There may be various answers to that question.

To some the answer is to expand the framework of the North Atlantic alliance primarily by including states from Central and East Europe and, on the basis of the U.S. idea of "partnership for peace," transform it into a self-sufficient organization on the European continent and gradually use this alliance to replace the CSCE. The logic here is as follows: NATO already has real and powerful military structures and real forces to implement its policy—in other words, precisely those things which the CSCE lacks.

Others will object. The eastward expansion of NATO is bound to affect the interests of Russia and its military security. This will compel Moscow to radically rethink all its defense concepts, reform its Armed Forces, review the operational division of the theater of military operations, redeploy major military contingents, and so on and so forth, as discussed in such well-argued detail in the recently published report of the Russian Federation Foreign Intelligence Service.

In other words, this is a return to the bloc system of ensuring security which was discredited long ago.

But is it possible to avoid a return to the bloc path of development? I think that it is. For that to happen it is necessary to think about concluding a regional security treaty as an addition to the Helsinki Act (France recently proposed something of the kind). Such a treaty could gradually assimilate both the incipient CSCE structures and the tried and tested structures of NATO, the North Atlantic Security Council, and other European organizations. It would encourage Europe to move away from stereotypes of bloc thinking and open up new opportunities for resolving the problems which are troubling the region.

International armed forces and the corresponding control organs must be parties to this treaty. However, these will not be bloc-based structures but regional structures and they will not be able to go beyond the limits prescribed by the UN Charter for regional security systems. In addition, the treaty would also include the kind of armed forces which are intended only for peacemaking in conflict situations. Then none of the warring sides will have grounds for doubting the legality and justice of such actions.

Of course, there will have to be a well-considered system for the formation, deployment, and training of such armed forces and it will be necessary to study questions connected with their dual subordination—to the international military headquarters of both the United Nations and the CSCE—and questions connected with the procedure for their use on the European continent and beyond its borders (in the event of use within the UN framework).

Three of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council are European countries. Without contravening the UN Charter this organ could delegate the right to restore peace to the future European regional organization created on the basis of the CSCE.

This is just a general outline of a possible regional security system. Of course, it needs to be studied in depth. But there can be no doubt that the implementation of the ideas expressed here could lead out of the existing closed circle

toward a spiral of new and higher relations which correspond to the challenges of the times in Europe and, in the long term, across the whole European continent.

Further Reaction to Moldova's Ilascu Case

Romanians Picket Russian Embassy

PM2012094193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Viktor Volodin report: "The Russian Embassy in Romania Resembles a Besieged Fortress"]

[Text] Bucharest—A chain of policemen has been set up on the sidewalk along the fence which surrounds the Russian Embassy building in Bucharest. Several vehicles containing Romanian state security employees dressed in civilian clothes are standing by nearby.

The pickets themselves have taken up position on the sidewalk across the road from the embassy. The group is small, but its composition is constantly changing. The pickets are demanding that the Romanian leadership take more decisive actions. In an interview with the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA one of the pickets, a worker from the "Faur" Plant, declared: "Why can we not get into tanks, head for the Dniester region, and rescue Ilascu?" Other pickets propose "taking one of the Russians hostage. This is the only way to deal with the Russians."

As a sign of solidarity with the pickets the drivers of vehicles passing Russia's mission continuously sound their horns. They do this on an order from one of the pickets who has installed himself at the side of Kiselev Avenue with a placard reading "Honk in support of Ilascu."

The name "Kiselev Avenue," however, is probably living out its last days. A proposal by the editorial staff of the newspaper ADEVARUL to rename the avenue where the Russian Embassy is located "Ilascu Boulevard" was approved at an extraordinary session of the local municipal council of Bucharest. It also conferred the title of honorary citizens of Bucharest on Ilascu and his four comrades sentenced by a Tiraspol court for "terrorist activity." By decision of the municipal council an iron cage like the one in which those accused of terrorism were held in the Tiraspol court room will be set up in front of the Russian Embassy.

Of all of Zhirinovskiy's promises, the Romanian public has been shocked by the statement that Moldova will become a Russian province with Tiraspol as its capital. Answering questions from ROMANIA LIBERA's correspondent about his views on the fate of Ilie Ilascu, who has been sentenced to death by a Dniester region court, and of his four comrades, Zhirinovskiy replied: "They are guilty. Using Romanian weapons, they committed crimes and raped women. The bandits from Chisinau must pay for this. Suvorov liberated Moldova from the Turks. Where Russian blood has been shed, it is Russian land...."

Evacuation 'Not Under Consideration'

LD1712182993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1548 GMT 17 Dec 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: Reports by diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, Igor Porshnyev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others]

[Text] The possibility of evacuating the staff of Russia's Embassy in Bucharest is not under consideration yet. The picketing of the Russian Embassy in connection with the "Ilascu case" is continuing, but there is no threat to the safety of Russian citizens. INTERFAX learned this from Oleg Voronkov, a leading member of the Foreign Ministry's 3rd European Department.

According to him, "the most unpleasant circumstance is that the staff of the Russian Embassy (about 200 people, including family members) have to work in conditions of psychological pressing."

Russia, Voronkov pointed out, has absolutely nothing to do with the verdict passed by the Tiraspol judiciary, who sentenced members of the "Ilascu group" to long terms in prison, and Ilascu himself to death by firing squad. "We bear no responsibility for this," he said.

President Boris Yeltsin, and his personal envoy, Nokolay Medvedev, asked the Trans-Dniestrian authorities to take into account "the humanitarian aspect" of the problem, the diplomat said.

According to INTERFAX's interviewee, if some people want to raise this issue, they should do so at the CSCE, not in front of the Russian Embassy.

Speaking about the stand taken by the Romanian authorities, the diplomat said that they are guarding the building of Russia's Embassy. "However there are facts of a different nature. For instance, recently the mayor of Bucharest joined a demonstration outside the embassy building," he said.

According to Voronkov, such cases cannot be disregarded.

"The Russian Embassy is in continuous contact with the Romanian authorities, who have assured us that they will do their best to ensure a normal life for the embassy. However, what they have done does not quite satisfy us," he said.

Grachev Visit Postponed

LD1812212093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1841 GMT 18 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Morozov]

[Text] Bucharest, 18 Dec—A visit to Romania by the Russian Federation defense minister, Army General Pavel Grachev, scheduled to start 20 December, has been postponed. This was reported by ROMPRES, quoting Romania's national defense minister, Lieutenant General Nicolae Spiroiu.

The Russian minister said that important events in the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States are scheduled in the wake of the elections in Russia, events in which he has to take part. Another consideration in postponing the visit are the rallies in Romania in the wake of the sentence in the Ilascu trial, [Moldovan nationalist sentenced to death in the Dniester republic] which has triggered anti-Russian feelings.

The Romanian minister of national defense emphasized that the visit is extremely important for the establishment of a system of bilateral relations being maintained by the Romanian Army with the countries in the region aimed at creating structures of security and stability.

Envoy Confirms Help in Building Iran Nuclear Plant

LD1912182493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] Russia intends to render assistance to Iran in building a nuclear power plant in the south of the country. This was revealed in Tehran by Russian Ambassador Sergey Tretyakov.

In an interview to the KEYHAN HAVAI newspaper, the ambassador noted that an accord on this issue has in principle already been reached. He noted that some financial details of the agreement to build the nuclear power station are yet to be settled.

Muslim Delegation Arrives in Tehran 17 Dec

LD1812113893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1125 GMT 18 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin]

[Text] Tehran December 17 TASS—A Muslim delegation from Russia led by Imam-Khatyb of the Moscow Main Mosque Ravil Gaynuddin arrived in the Iranian capital on Friday. The delegation includes Tatar businessmen and trade unionists.

It is planned that delegation members will hold talks and meetings with Iranian officials and religious leaders during their visit to Tehran.

Changes in Kazakhstan Seen Assisting CIS Harmony

PM1712140793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Dec 93 First Edition p 6

[Unattributed "Commentary" under the rubric "In the Commonwealth Countries: Events, Facts, Commentaries"]

[Text] **Political Reforms in CIS Countries**

Elections to the new parliament in Kazakhstan and local representative organs will be held 7 March 1994. That decision was adopted by Kazakh deputies in stage two of the work of the 11th session of the republic's Supreme Council. According to the draft law on the local organs of power it is planned to create a medzhlis (assembly of deputies) headed by a chairman at the level of each oblast, city, and rayon. In hamlets, villages, and settlements power will be exercised by the akym [elder] working in permanent contact with an assembly of representatives elected by the population. It is planned that the republic's Supreme Council will remain the supreme representative organ, working as a standing body, but its composition will be half the present figure—177 deputies instead of 360. The aim of this political reform is to eliminate soviets at all levels and create viable organs for the representation of the people. More than 150 soviets have already dissolved themselves in the republic. However, not everyone in Kazakhstan supports this course designed to reform the political system. A number of parties and movements regard the elimination of the soviets as an unconstitutional process. They fear that the implementation of these measures could lead to the establishment of a dictatorship in the country. Essentially Kazakhstan is now following Russia's path in the transformation of its representative organs. Similar radical changes, of course, are taking place against a background of heightened political struggle, as shown by events in Kyrgyzstan, for example. Similar changes currently taking place in other CIS countries are due not to the whim of their leaders but to objective necessity, namely the fact that differences in the pace of economic reforms have become a powerful brake on economic integration among the former Soviet republics. In the words of Aleksandr Shokhin, vice premier of the Russian Government, the divergence in economic laws and the implementation of economic policy in different areas have meant that all the ties among the CIS countries have begun to break down. That is why the transformation of the old representative organs from all-powerful bodies into exclusively legislative bodies is expected to accelerate the process of harmonization of the CIS countries' economies. Differences in the pace of political and economic reforms are the main reason for the nonfulfillment of many of the decisions adopted by the heads of CIS states. The radical political changes that are currently taking place in the former Soviet republics are aimed at removing those differences and this will undoubtedly help to accelerate the processes of economic and political integration within the CIS.

Political Uncertainty Threatens Moscow's Tajik Policy

PM2012133193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Dec 93 First Edition p 3

[Leonid Mlechin article: "Lesha the Hunchback Rules the Pamirs. The Tajik Opposition Sits in Moscow but Does Not Attend the Talks"]

[Text] Russia is investing vast sums of money in Tajikistan. Russian soldiers are dying while guarding its borders (and, so people in Moscow believe, the borders of Russia itself). The success of this policy, which has just as many supporters as opponents, depends on Moscow's ability to keep the present regime in power and to secure its recognition by the opposition. The latter's armed detachments are mainly in neighboring Afghanistan and have no intention of ceasing the struggle.

Russian diplomats dealing with Tajikistan complain that the opposition does not wish to attend talks with the present government and fear that the government itself, which is supported by Moscow, might split at the Supreme Council session at the end of December.

Russia's representatives in Dushanbe have been entrusted with preventing conflict between the Supreme Council chairman and the head of government, who represent different regional groupings—Kulyab and Leninabad. It is not ethnic, religious, or ideological but regional-clan differences that have split Tajikistan.

The present power is certainly not united, and the Russian Embassy, which consists of eight diplomats, is having to reconcile representatives of various groupings. The embassy does not have its own building, and they are all staying in a hotel. A special link with Moscow is ensured by Russian border guards guarding the border with Afghanistan.

Russia is virtually feeding Tajikistan and must now additionally saturate the republic with the new 1993 rubles. Russia guards its external borders. And Russia, offering itself as an intermediary in talks with the opposition, is trying to strengthen the power of Supreme Council Chairman Rakhmonov's grouping which, it used to be said, was maintained by Russian bayonets.

These talks could even have been held in Moscow, where one of the main centers of the Tajik opposition is located. The opposition is headed by prominent intellectuals—for example, the movie director Davlat Khudonazarov, a former USSR people's deputy and former head of the Cinematographers Union. Khudonazarov himself, to whom certain opposition combat detachments have submitted, now spends most of his time in Hollywood, in the United States. But many of his confederates have settled in Moscow. On returning from a trip to Dushanbe, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev brought a prominent government official with him to Moscow. The opposition refused to meet with him.

I believe that there are people in the opposition who are ready for contacts, but they are afraid. So much blood was shed in Tajikistan last year that a meeting with the enemy is considered a crime. The present regime in Dushanbe is on the blacklist of human rights campaigners. There is little to like in the opposition either....

A Pamir Tajik nicknamed Lesha the Hunchback controls a significant part of the heroin trade in Tajikistan. He has his own armed detachment, suppliers of raw materials, and laboratories. Tajikistan used to supply only opium and hashish—an unprocessed, cheap commodity. Now—in the absence of a strong central power—opium poppies are refined into top-quality heroin. In the opinion of Moscow experts, Tajikistan, which was split by last year's civil war, has taken one of the first places with regard to supplies of narcotics to the world market. Tajik heroin goes to both Europe and Russia.

For a sizable part of the population, the drugs trade represents virtually the only opportunity to earn. The Pamirs are on the verge of famine. Tens of thousands of tonnes of food freight and humanitarian aid from Russia and other CIS countries have gotten bogged down in the Kirghiz city of Osh. Now that snow has fallen it will be still more difficult to deliver this freight to the people of the Pamirs.

But drugs do not so much save people from famine as finance the continuation of combat operations. The Pamirs and Gorno-Badakhshan are the base for formations in opposition to the present government.

The Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs hopes to halt this flow of drugs. The economic ministries in Moscow recall that in the past Tajikistan supplied one-fourth of all Soviet aluminum, and rare nonferrous metals were extracted there. The Ministry of Security believes that it is cheaper to keep the present 1,300 km-long Tajik-Afghan border than to pull back and construct a new one, this time 6,200 km long. Of course, the Russian Government thinks with alarm of the prospect of the evacuation of all Russian-speaking citizens from the republic.

In short, all the advantages of keeping Tajikistan in Russia's zone of influence are obvious. But no one in Moscow is prepared to answer the question: What will happen if all the sacrifices prove in vain, the present regime in Dushanbe does not hold out, and power is assumed by the opposition stained with the blood of Russian soldiers? Will it not be necessary, all the same, to create a new border and evacuate compatriots—only in haste and under enemy fire?

'Mass Desertion' of Border Guards on Kyrgyz-Chinese Border

LD2012095193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0800 GMT 20 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek, 20 Dec—A mass desertion has taken place in a group of Russia's border troops on the Kyrgyzstan-Chinese border. Over 200 conscripts from Kyrgyzstan left their subunits today. The ITAR-TASS correspondent has been also told at the Defense Ministry that the local livestock breeders are encouraging the desertions by giving the deserters shelter and food. The Kyrgyzstan Defense Ministry believes that strict punishment would stop desertions from the units, but the republic is still not ready to implement such measures.

Russia, China Agree To Form Joint High-Tech Center

LD1712145293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1420 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Spirin]

[Text] Beijing December 17 TASS—The Russo-Chinese scientific and high-tech centre to be set up under an agreement reached by Moscow and Beijing on Friday will be based on Russian ideas and Chinese work.

Cooperation between specialists of the two countries will be conducted in every area, Ye Jitang, deputy director-general of the Chinese state project "Torch", told ITAR-TASS.

New materials, microelectronics, lasers technology, computerisation and information systems will be priority areas. A joint bank of scientific projects is planned to be formed.

Representative of the Russian side, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Valeriy Salyga said that Moscow is also interested in Chinese technologies, above all for medicine production.

Thousands of certified specialists from Russia now work in China. The centre plans to introduce order into scientific contacts and to ensure the most favourable material and professional conditions for Russians implementing their projects in China, Salyga said.

The Russo-Chinese centre of science and high-tech will have its central office in Beijing. The Russian and the Chinese will be its working languages.

Kunadze: DPRK Sanctions 'Undesirable'

SK1812021293 Seoul YONHAP in English 0147 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 18 (YONHAP)—Moscow's basic position is that sanctions are an undesirable way to settle the North Korean nuclear problem, Vice Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze said Friday.

"But now the dialogue between North Korea and the United States is under way, so we need to wait for the results. Discussing military or economic sanctions at the current stage is not helpful to settlement of the North Korean nuclear problem," he said.

International action against North Korea could trigger a calamity in Northeast Asia and even destroy world peace, he warned.

Kunadze, who is to become ambassador to Seoul next month, told South Korean reporters that the Russian Government supports the declaration of a nuclear-free peninsula and non-possession of nuclear weapons by South and North Korea.

The major question of Russian diplomacy is how to support unification of the Korean peninsula, because stability and peace on the peninsula is important to the security of Russia as well as Northeast Asia, he said.

Russia, as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, will support and help peaceful unification of South and North Korea on the international stage, Kunadze said.

He said he knew South Korean President Kim Yong-sam plans to visit Russia next year but discussion on details of his visit had not started.

"We wish President Kim will visit Russia at a convenient time next year," the new ambassador said.

The time of the visit depends completely on the South Korean Government, he added.

Meanwhile, Chong Che-mun, chairman of the National Assembly Foreign Affairs and Reunification Committee, who was visiting Moscow with a team of international observers for the general election, said he had met Russian Government figures who expressed the hope that President Kim will visit Moscow around June next year.

Commentary Urges DPRK To Clear Nuclear Suspicion

SK1812075793 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1200 GMT 15 Dec 93

[Commentary by (Aleksey Kondraziyev) from the "Today's World" program]

[Text] It is natural for the issue of international inspections of the DPRK's nuclear facilities [haek taesang] to still be attracting world public attention. Station commentator (Aleksey Kondraziyev) writes on this.

Pyongyang's refusal to open all its nuclear facilities to the international community not only causes tensions on the Korean peninsula, but also exerts a negative influence upon the military and political climate of the whole Asia-Pacific region and Northeast Asia, in particular.

The DPRK position runs counter to Pyongyang-Seoul talks on the denuclearization of the peninsula which they agreed upon.

Many countries are participating in the effort to resolve the nuclear issue. For example, the nuclear issue is being discussed in unofficial talks between the United States and the DPRK. The United States is still using a diplomatic method to apply pressure on the DPRK in order to make it accept international inspections.

U.S. Secretary of Defense Les Aspin stated that Washington is willing to continue diplomatic efforts to settle the crisis. He also pointed out, however, that if these efforts do not bring any results, the United States will take other measures. He probably had economic sanctions against the DPRK in mind when he said this.

In short, the United States seems to be contemplating which decision it should make—giving punishment or candy. Judging from the current situation, I think the sweets would be more desirable than the long sword.

The DPRK leadership has recently made a concession by saying it would open up more nuclear facilities.

Respecting, of course, the DPRK's right to independent decision-making, we hope that its leadership will make a clear promise regarding the nuclear issue.

The DPRK's two nuclear facilities have generated suspicion of nuclear development. If it allows international inspection of these facilities, suspicion of the DPRK's nuclear ambition [haek yasim] will be diminished remarkably.

I expect Pyongyang will eventually take such proper actions after analyzing the peninsula's situation.

Political Issues

Shakhray Affirms Plan To Run for Duma Speaker

LD1712193893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] The Federal Council of the Party of Russian Unity and Concord has decided to nominate its leader, Russian Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray, for the position of Speaker of the State Duma. INTERFAX has been informed that the PRUC leadership has been recommended for this purpose to consult with blocs and parties and with independent deputies in the State Duma.

Shakhray confirmed the PRUC Council's decision in an interview with INTERFAX Friday and stated his intention to fight for the post of speaker of the future parliament's lower chamber. "I intend to honor my election pledges, although I have to admit that it will be difficult for the leader of a party which has gained only 7% of the vote to contest the position of speaker," he said.

Federal Assembly To Hold First Joint Sitting 1 Jan

LD1712225493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2115 GMT 17 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The first joint sitting of the upper and lower chambers of the Federal Assembly will take place on 11 January next year. Many bloc leaders elected into the parliament have already indicated their desire to become chairman, including Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, Sergey Shakhray, and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. Others say the speaker ought to be a woman. Debates look likely to flare up over a whole range of issues as soon as the new parliament begins work. We know only that the right to open the work of the Federal Assembly will be granted to its eldest member.

Commission Discusses Duma Standing Orders

PM2012113393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Report by Yevgeniy Skukin: "Let's Argue According to the Standing Orders"]

[Text] Parliamentary business, like any other, has to be learned. The session of the Russian Federation president's Legislative Proposals Commission became a kind of parliamentary class for the election blocs' representatives. The commission members, most of whom are members of the former Supreme Soviet who did not discredit themselves and were elected to the State Duma, presented their junior colleagues with the drafts of two documents which are undoubtedly of key importance for all their future activity.

And talk turned to the drafts of the plan for legislative activity in connection with the adoption of the Constitution and to the State Duma Standing Orders.

To ensure that the Constitution acquires an operating mechanism, commission chairman Mikhail Mityukov said, it is essential to prepare 12 constitutional federal laws, and to ensure that the new constitutional system is approved it will be necessary to create about 50 more federal laws and a number of codes.

I would compare the debates which have begun with the preparation of future targets. So far the democrats, Communists, and Zhirinovskiy supporters have not fought but their attacks on individual clauses of the drafts have been very characteristic. Thus, Valentin Kovalev, a representative of the Communists' bloc, showed most unambiguously whom and what he intends to fight: "There are draft laws relating to the legal and court system but none relating to presidential power. If we have separation of powers there should also be a law on the president with the right to impeach him." And Valentin Kovalev also spoke on the establishment of state control over privatization so that it can be examined on the basis not only of the letter of the law but also of expediency.

As for the thrust of the matter, the actual question of the absence of these laws arose because of inadequate information. The drafts were distributed hot off the press as they say, and the guests did not have time to read them seriously.

The draft standing orders contain 227 articles—"rules of conduct at the parliamentary table." Commission member Georgiy Zadonskiy called this document a rule for procedures while his colleague Mikhail Vilchek called it a working proposal for the State Duma: If it wants it will adopt it, it is only a concept. At the same time, Mikhail Vilchek believes, normal lawmaking practice is impossible without control, because it should be conducted within the framework of the Constitution. Legal services for the Federal Assembly's activity are included in the package of procedures.

Most likely the present deputies will be reliably protected by the standing orders against the very large number of illogicalities characteristic of their predecessors. For instance, sessions will be held on Wednesday and Friday and since Monday all factions have been working according to the agenda and seeking supporters. It was even suggested that, following the Western model, debates be assigned to specific days: You can argue when you are allowed to, gentlemen. And here is the main point. It is neither the speaker nor the apparatus but the factions from the election associations which will determine the fate of laws in the new parliament. The factions' chairmen will be members of the State Duma conference. The factions' leading role is also retained when the chamber committees decided issues at their plenary sessions and at parliamentary hearings.

So far there is no law on the new government, commission member Lev Okunkov said, and it is essential to create a conciliation clause between the president and the State Duma. The president, if there is a conflict between the two branches of power, must dissolve either the government or parliament. But under the constitution he cannot dissolve the parliament for a year. Because the provisions do not comply with each other there is no clear standing order.

I think that the importance of this document is clear to everyone, Justice Minister Yuriy Kalmykov stressed. Parliament's legislative standard depends on it.

But of course any assessments are strictly preliminary ones. Nonetheless after the session I asked Mikhail Mityukov a question about how, in his opinion, this very tough document will be received by those for whom it is actually intended. He said that the standing orders will give rise to fierce debates because they are a kind of small constitution of the parliamentary system. There will be attempts to go beyond the framework of constitutional norms in resolving particular tasks but ultimately, to ensure that parliament operates, they will be obliged to agree with many of the norms.

Legislative Commission Seen as Guarding Yeltsin's Interests

MK1812122093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 3

[Dmitriy Kamin report: "Legislative Proposals Commission Meeting. Government Urged To Display Initiative"]

[Excerpts] The Commission for Legislative Proposals, which was set up by presidential edict on 26 September in order to sum up the dissolved Supreme Soviet's legislative plans, will operate as a standing body. Its main function will be the drafting of presidential legislative initiatives. This is a conclusion that can be drawn from yesterday's commission meeting. The commission, which has effectively become yet another lawmaking center of the executive branch, is not inclined, however, to include everything the government may offer in the presidential package—both documents drawn up by the Council of Ministers were sent back for finalization. Furthermore, the draft law "On Making Amendments to the Law 'On Ownership in the RSFSR'" was described as extremely dangerous from a political point of view.

The only document approved at the meeting yesterday was the draft law "On Making Amendments and Additions to the Law 'On the Privatization of the Housing Reserve,'" prepared by the General Prosecutor's Office. It is designed to defend the rights of young people under 18 in the process of privatization and entering into transactions involving housing.

If this document did not spark arguments, the proposal to remove paragraph 3, Article 30, from the Law "On Ownership in the RSFSR," whereby the state undertakes to pay damages incurred by an owner owing to a crime and to recover its costs from the guilty party, elicited a mixed reaction. [passage omitted]

The commission conceded that currently there is no money to finance such obligations and that they were included in the Law "On Ownership in the RSFSR" owing to the Supreme Soviet's populist sentiments, but refused to abolish the provision. Commission members noted that the new parliamentary opposition may exploit the president's initiative in order to reproach government authorities for weakness and inability either to protect citizens from crime or to pay damages they incur. The government was urged to submit this document as its own legislative initiative. Thus the commission demonstrated its clear political orientation toward the president's interests, which together with its functions of a draft-law filter may help it considerably increase its legal clout.

Yeltsin Releases Four More People From Duty

LD1712173493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1611 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 17 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—By his decrees today Russian President Boris Yeltsin released from their duties presidential advisers Valeriy Burkov, Aleksandr Granberg, and Eduard Dneprov.

By his decision the president has released Valentin Lazutkin from the post of first deputy chairman of the "Ostankino" TV and radio company. The reports have been received from the Russian president's press service.

Officials Resigned 'Under Pressure' From Russia's Choice

LD1712163093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1439 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] A well-informed source reported to Interfax Friday [17 December] that the resignation of prominent political officials from their state posts (Sergey Stankevich, Aleksandr Kotenkov, Vyacheslav Bragin) had been carried out under pressure of the leaders of the Russia's Choice bloc. He also noted that Russia's Choice had used the results of the elections to the new parliament as a means of exerting pressure on the country's supreme leadership.

According to the source, advisors in the governmental bloc pointed to the splits in the democratic camp during the pre- election campaigning as the major reason for the victory of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party. He also noted that Russia's Choice had chosen the Party of Russian Unity and Concord headed by Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray (the party pursued an independent course during the run-up to elections) as one of its main targets.

Though Russia's Choice's supporters viewed several state officials as "inconvenient figures" long ago, the final decisions on the resignation of Sergey Stankevich (who headed the party list from the Party of Russian Unity and Concord (PRUC) to the State Duma) and Aleksandr Kotenkov (who headed the headquarters of the PRUC pre-election campaign) were adopted after results of the voting had been made public.

Observers do not rule out the possibility that Russia's Choice will inflict its next strike against the Party of Russian Unity and Concord leaders, namely Vice Premiers Sergey Shakhray and Aleksandr Shokhin. However, it will be difficult to do because head of the government Viktor

Chernomyrdin had voiced public statements regarding his sympathy towards the PRUC.

Many well-informed political observers in Moscow assert that striving to create a single democratic alliance in the new parliament, leaders of Russia's Choice undertake certain measures so that "democratic-heretics" deprived of responsible state posts could enter the State Duma. Consequently, one can expect a series of resignations among political leaders other than those in Russia's Choice.

Stankevich Comments on Resignation; Says 'No Purge'

LD1812004593

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 2155 GMT on 17 December carries an interview with "former advisor to the President of Russia" Sergey Stankevich on the "Politburo" program.

The "Politburo" program interviewer introduces Stankevich and begins by saying that Stankevich's decision to resign had taken the media by surprise. Stankevich interrupts him to say, "it was the president's decision; there had been some moves leading up to it, so it wasn't a complete surprise for me, but it was the president who made the decision, as always".

But after that he issued a statement saying he was ready to accept part of the responsibility for the democrats' defeat at the polls, the interviewer says. Stankevich replied, "that's true, but that is already my own decision; that is my own moral choice".

So he decided to accept the blame only after being dismissed, the interviewer asks? "No," Stankevich replies, "I'm ready to accept responsibility irrespective of whether I'm dismissed or not."

Asked the reason for his dismissal, Stankevich says that under the new constitution Yeltsin has acquired "vast powers, and with them a very high degree of responsibility and a grave legacy. In order to exercise these powers, he evidently needs to renew his team. He needs people who can stand alongside him and together with him wield the levers of power. So the president is entitled to carry out reshuffles. Any leader in his circumstances would have carried out a reshuffle, and we should take a cold and sober view of this."

Stankevich cautions against viewing any official dismissal, his included, as the result of backstage fighting and an opportunity to settle some scores.

If media reports are to be believed, the interviewer says, Stankevich's analyses had been ignored by the president for three months or so. Why did he not resign then?

Stankevich denies that he had been sidelined, and asserts that he had not been wasting his time producing work that nobody noticed. The fact is that Yeltsin was usually presented with a range of alternatives, he said, and his advice was naturally not always heeded.

The interviewer asks whether alternative courses of action were available in the run-up to the October uprising. There were, Stankevich says, but none of them foresaw an armed uprising in Moscow.

The same question was asked about the run-up to the election results. Stankevich explains that Yeltsin receives information via a number of sources, and in critical situations his intuition often serves him better than any analyst could.

"The president is very independent in the way he reaches a decision," he says, "and images of him being manipulated through the type of information supplied to him are inaccurate."

Is this the beginning of a Kremlin purge, the announcer asks?. Stankevich replied that the recent dismissals do not amount to a purge but a renewal of the presidential team in a changed political landscape.

Commentary on Stankevich 'Removal'

PM2012112193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 1

[Dmitriy Lvov commentary: "The Wrong Role in a Soap Opera: On the Removal of Sergey Stankevich"]

[Text] How people in our country like to attribute elevated political motives to routine personnel changes in the upper echelons of power! Thus it turns out from the statements made by Sergey Stankevich, recently released by Boris Yeltsin from his post as adviser to the president of the Russian Federation, that he is leaving "having assumed a share in the responsibility for the crisis in the country."

A desire to assume a share in the responsibility for the crisis in the country is of course laudable but is Sergey Stankevich by this action not exaggerating his role and influence on state affairs? According to the evidence at the editorial office's disposal, there had been no contact at all between Sergey Stankevich and the president for a long time. So what kind of adviser was he then if the president did not even meet with him?

The weekly memoranda and analytical materials that Stankevich sent to the president produced no response and were not taken seriously either. INTERFAX quotes a high-ranking official who said that materials prepared by Stankevich and his staffers "contained false premises which made it difficult to adopt effective decisions on the basis of them." These materials sometimes inadequately reflected the processes taking place in the sphere "managed" by the adviser and even suffered from political bias. This bias, in our view, was due to the fact that Stankevich, who started out as a brilliant interregional democrat, ended up, shall we say, in a position of power. Most likely this niche was chosen by him not only from ideological reasons but also from practical considerations to enable him once more to be at the center of attention and boost his fallen rating.

This desire clearly explains his surprise appearance on the TV screens on the evening of 4 October after a long period of silence and, it may be said, after a period of political obscurity. Stankevich was thus reminding people that he is still around, maintaining the illusion that he is close to the president, and trying to score political points in this situation. As we know, he had no mandate to speak on the president's behalf and was acting from personal considerations alone. But this clumsy demonstration of loyalty was hardly capable of stopping Stankevich's evident alienation from the president's team. The issue has nothing to with an alleged friction between him and the head of the president's administration nor his active role in the creation of Shakhray's party, which claims to express the interests of the regions but represents merely the interests of its creators. The mark which Stankevich made by distributing accommodations in former Komsomol Central Committee buildings to parties and movements was hardly a factor either (as ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI reported recently).

All these factors of course may have influenced Stankevich's fate but it seems to us that this is not a political matter at all. According to Moscow prosecutor Gennadiy Ponomarev, Sergey Stankevich is witness in a criminal case relating to bribery and in the near future will be summoned to the prosecutor's office to testify.

Do you remember the much-publicized Red Square soap opera flop whose organization cost vast amounts of hard currency? Well, it was Sergey Stankevich who by decision of the Moscow city soviet presidium was appointed one of the organizers of that gala opera concert in the summer of 1991. The finale to that failed soap opera was the institution of criminal proceedings against a man called Sokhadze, director of the "Interteatr" firm, who together with Sergey Stankevich organized that megacircus. Some got circuses while others got bread and apparently butter, too....

Does Stankevich's whole career not remind you of a failed soap opera in which he possibly played the wrong part? But politics is not a soap opera. It does not forgive hypocrisy nor does it tolerate masks and grease paint.

Rumors About Sergey Filatov's Resignation Questioned

MK1812123093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 3

[Larisa Yevtushik report: "Rumors About Sergey Filatov's Resignation. Administration Chief Not Inclined To Go"]

[Text] On the night of 16 December, Sergey Filatov, chief of the presidential administration, held a meeting with chiefs of the new parliament's staff, which focused on preparations for the commencement of the Federal Assembly's work. Next morning, rumors began circulating that Sergey Filatov himself may be yet another victim of the ongoing campaign of resignations.

The presidential administration played the key role in conducting the elections and, evidently, rumors about Sergey Filatov's resignation are related to the failure of "Russia's Choice."

On the other hand, if he stays on as chief of the presidential administration, Filatov will be unable to occupy his seat in parliament, which he entered on the "Russia's Choice" list. (Meanwhile, Sergey Filatov has already been mentioned as a candidate for the post of lower chamber speaker.) This reason for Sergey Filatov's resignation, however, appears less likely: Secretariat Chief Vladimir Pryamukhin told KOMMERSANT-DAILY that Sergey Filatov himself has so far announced no intention to give up his post and to become a State Duma deputy.

Rumors of Impending Top-Level Firings Circulate

MK1812105093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 1

[Kris Khokli report under the "In Brief" rubric: "Moscow Rumors"]

[Text] Stubborn rumors began to circulate in Moscow yesterday about reshuffles in the top echelons of power. According to information available to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, Yeltsin's edicts have been prepared on the dismissal from their positions of Sergey Shakhray, chairman of the State Committee on Federation Affairs, and Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin. The draft edicts do not bear dates yet, but knowing that the president loves to issue legislative acts on Saturdays, one can expect these and other no less important documents one of these days. Also yesterday, it was rumored that the position of "Ostankino" television and radio company chairman had been offered to Igor Malashenko, NTV [Independent Television] general director. A NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA confidential source said that Sergey Filatov's position of head of the presidential staff may be filled by Gennadiy Burbulis. Neither did rumors spare the agency in Lubyanka. One of the rumored candidates for its head is Yevgeniy Savostyanov, chief of the Moscow directorate of the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs. It may happen that there will be changes at the top of the Main Directorate of Presidential Security, as well as in the Justice Ministry following the firing of Aleksandr Kotenkov, chief of the State Legal Administration.

Rationale of Yeltsin Dismissals Pondered

PM2012104593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Sergey Chugayev article: "Breakdown of Forces in Parliament Prompts President To Make Major Personnel Changes"]

[Text] The end of the first week after the elections has been marked by a series of well-publicized dismissals—S. Stankevich, A. Kotenkov, and V. Bragin. According to rumors stubbornly doing the rounds of circles close to the president and the government and in the opinion of many observers this is just the start of major personnel changes

in the top echelons of power—in the president's apparatus and in the government. It is expected that several presidential edicts on this will be published early next week.

It was not hard to predict that the president would react to the election results by carrying out a personnel reshuffle. It is harder to decide why these reshuffles will be taking place. The fact that hitherto there had been very contradictory information from informed sources on the possible fate of specific individuals in the presidential apparatus and the government shows that a fierce struggle is currently under way within B. Yeltsin's entourage first and foremost to decide who will be the "fall guy"—the person to be blamed for the defeat of the "Russia's Choice" bloc.

But things are hardly restricted this time merely to designating "whipping boys." The emergence onto the country's political scene of an antireform figure—the first person since B. Yeltsin to stake a serious claim to the role of national leader with a chance of winning the next presidential election—cannot fail to make a president who has pinned his political career on the reforms look for strategic solutions to the problem of preserving and protecting those reforms. That is why it cannot be ruled out that in terms of their consequences the expected changes in the system of higher executive power may be comparable to those following the change of cabinet in late 1991.

And B. Yeltsin's room for maneuver is very limited. Essentially, if the unlikely option of allowing V. Zhirinovskiy—as leader of a major parliamentary faction—to form a government and demonstrate in practice the viability of his ideas is ruled out (an overall majority in parliament and, most probably, V. Zhirinovskiy himself would not agree to it) the president has just two options left.

A lot has been said about the first option recently. It is being persistently suggested to the president that, using the powers granted by the new Constitution, he should not react to parliament's opinion, but should form a radical reform government and quickly try in the two years left before the elections to make the reforms irreversible.

It is hard to fault the thesis that, if the economic situation is successfully turned around by 1996, V. Zhirinovskiy's chances of victory will be virtually zero. The new Constitution is capable of playing a positive role for a certain period of time. But there is a real danger that the increased power of the central bureaucracy envisaged by the fundamental law could, without effective parliamentary control, ultimately lead to an even greater worsening of the situation, despite all the reformers' efforts. The central bureaucratic apparatus has grown to an amazing extent, is hard to control, and is quite capable—if not reformed—of executing a reform leadership's decisions in such a way as to ensure that V. Zhirinovskiy comes to power earlier than 1996.

But the main doubts about the correctness of the proposed route are engendered by the election results themselves. They showed that the main resource underpinning reform—the voters' patience—is exhausted. The reformers no longer have the right to make mistakes. The further use in Russia of the liberal economic model without major amendments will lead to an explosion. Which would, of course, play into V. Zhirinovskiy's hands.

One of the paradoxes of the current Russian political situation is that V. Zhirinovskiy's party essentially assumed an alien role. The difference between the Russian and East European political systems is that we have not formed a stable social democratic movement. Or, indeed, a right-wing bourgeois movement either. Since the struggle between political rivals is being waged not for principles but for power. And it was A. Rutskoy's power ambitions that prevented social democracy from developing on the basis of "Civic Union"—even though certain prerequisites were in place. As a result, when the pendulum swung the other way, voters found that V. Zhirinovskiy had filled the vacuum left by the social democrats.

The opportunities to create a social democratic movement have been lost. But, since there is no such party, perhaps its role could be undertaken by the president and the government? Perhaps this is where we should seek an alternative to the proposed radical attack? There are grounds for believing that this option is also being seriously examined by the president. Signs that the president had plumped for the social democratic model would be major reshuffles in the president's apparatus and an increased role for V. Chernomyrdin in the government at the expense of reducing the number of vice premierships (in particular, appointing Ye. Gaydar as finance minister).

For the time being a fierce struggle is under way around the president for a final decision. Short-term, tactical aims are often being pursued in this struggle—as usual. But we are talking about determining the strategic course for the country's development. And the decision on this must be made by the president himself.

Yeltsin Seen Moving Toward 'Authoritarianism'

MK1812101093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 1

[Chief Editor Vitaliy Tretyakov article: "Has the President Finally Been Disenchanted With Democracy? If So, the Future Path Is Clear"]

[Text] Judging by reports about the announced and upcoming resignations, reshuffles and perestroykas strengthening the presidential structures and their power in the country and the Gaydar group within the government and the ministries, the president (or those who influence his decisions) has made his final choice in favor of confrontation, a tougher course and mild (at the initial stage) authoritarianism.

A full disenchantment with democracy because it has not allowed to 1) win the elections; 2) have the people think that everything is good and right; and 3) muzzle even the democratic opposition—all those Shakhrays, Yavlinskiys, Shokhins....

Things have been moving toward this. Back in spring Shokhin, for example, was labeled in the Kremlin as

"inclined to compromise," that is to say, "not one of our own." In all likelihood, Aleksandr Shokhin, understanding that his days in the government were numbered anyway, joined the Shakhray party which, as is known, did not welcome the president's tough actions in the September-October events.

Russia's Choice was in favor of a democratic coalition on its own terms. Those who dared to disagree and especially those who were creating their own parties and proposing alternative programs, were stigmatized as Zhirinovskiy's henchmen and enemies of reforms, who placed their personal ambitions above the interests (of what?)—the country? the president? the reforms? democracy? or the personal ambitions of Russia's Choice itself?

Now the minority, which has suffered a defeat in the elections but is still in power, is moving over to tougher rules of the game according to this scheme: either you are with us and on our terms, or the hell with you and democracy. This path leads 40 percent to dictatorship and 40 percent to a civil war (sporadic, in all likelihood); 10 percent to sluggish drifting like what is happening at present, and the remaining 10 percent to reasonably limited authoritarianism in politics combined with tough authoritarianism in the economic sphere. The freedom of expression and the press was limited by juridical persecution for any conceivable reason, even by stifling the dissenters financially. The right (or left) extremists are not being touched so as to maintain tension in the country, something needed to justify the tough measures.

This has its own logic. Yeltsin was told: Last December you gave up Gaydar; see what this has led to. This is correct. Any (almost any) clear-cut course is better than a vague one.

But for one thing: December 1993 is not December 1992. Second, one cannot do without the army, and it is not very pro- presidentially minded. Third, where is the guarantee of early economic success stories? Fourth, any presidential entourage, even profoundly purged of those "inclined toward compromise," tends, after two days of teamwork, to engage in a dogfight among themselves.

Whether the president has finally chosen this scenario will become clear as soon as the fate of the prime minister has been decided. Actually this will mean that if there was no Zhirinovskiy, he would have had to be created to derive the maximum benefit from the minimum success in the elections.

Yeltsin Appoints New Federal, Regional Officials

New State Legal Department Head

LD1812121493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1128 GMT 18 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Dec—In an edict issued today Boris Yeltsin appointed Ruslan Orekhov as head of the state legal administration of the Russian Federation president. This has been reported by the press service of the head of state.

The former head of the state legal administration, Aleksandr Kotenkov, was dismissed two days ago. The edict did not say anything about the reasons for the dismissal.

New Deputy Head of Control Department

LD1712191193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1847 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 17 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—President Boris Yeltsin has, by his instruction, appointed Igor Rybakov deputy head of the control department of the Russian President's administration, the president's press service reported today.

New Security Chief of Khakasian Republic

LD1712215193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1849 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 17 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—The Russian President Boris Yeltsin has today by his decree appointed Colonel Vladimir Frolov security minister of the Khakasia Republic.

New Representative to Penza Oblast

LD1712195393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1854 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 17 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin today appointed Igor Kudinov as his representative in Penza Oblast.

Yeltsin Signs Decrees, Edicts on Various Subjects

On Land Protection, Autonomous Region

LD1712220593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2054 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow December 18 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has issued a decree for purposes of enhancing the state control over the use and protection of land, tightening the responsibility of citizens, officials and juridical entities for the violation of land legislature in the period of carrying out the land reform, the press service of the Russian president reported on Friday.

The decree establishes the size and the order of imposing fines for breaking the Russian land legislature.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued a decree envisaging state support to the Koryak Autonomous Region in the economic and social development and carrying out the economic reform, the press service of the Russian president reported on Friday.

The decree instructs a number of ministries and departments of the Russian Federation to take concrete measures aimed at the development the Koryak Autonomous Region.

On Federal Property Fund

LD1812102493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0952 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 18 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has issued an edict on the Russian federal property fund. This has been reported by the press service of the president of the Russian Federation.

This document says that the fund is a specialized financial establishment under the government of the Russian Federation and is carrying out functions determined by the legislation of the Russian Federation on privatization of assets of the federal property which has been handed over to it.

The edict will come into force from the day of publication and will be submitted for the consideration of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation.

On Support for State Television

LD1812142893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1419 GMT 18 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow December 18 TASS—A decree of Russian President Boris Yeltsin on emergency measures to support state television and the radio was signed here today, the presidential press service reports.

A number of benefits will be introduced to create additional guarantees of activities of state TV and radio companies and permanent and timely provision of the population with comprehensive information.

State communications organizations which ensure broadcast of TV and radio programs shall render all types of services to state TV and radio companies, including regional, at regulated state prices. The Russian Ministry of Finance is instructed to allocate money to state TV and radio companies before the end of this year to pay their debt for rent of international communications channels. TV and radio broadcast equipment purchased with state means or with money of state TV and radio companies shall be exempted from tax on added value and customs dues in 1994.

The decree instructs the Russian Government to elaborate a draft federal program of development of state television and the radio.

On More Funding for State TV, Radio

LD1812201693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1743 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] December 18 Boris Yeltsin signed a Decree "On Urgent Measures to Support State TV Broadcasting," reports presidential press service.

According to the document, within a month state TV and radio companies are to submit their proposals to the Russian government on possible reduction of volume of TV and radio broadcasting.

At the same time Yeltsin commissioned the Finance Ministry to allocate appropriate funds to state TV and radio companies to repay debt for the rent of international communication channels and radio transmitters.

State communication companies providing for spreading of TV and radio programs should render all kinds of services on regulated state prices and tariffs within the volume of broadcasting financed from the republican budget, says the decree.

The president has set the governmental currency-economic commission to consider the issue to free state TV and radio companies and state communication enterprises from obligatory sale of part of their currency profit at the domestic market in case the freed funds are used to strengthen their technical base. They are to submit corresponding proposals to the Russian president within a month.

On Reducing Republics' Debts

LD2012131093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1150 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Moscow, 20 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree on 18 December "On measures to reduce the debts of states which were former republics of the USSR for supplies of fuel and energy resources."

The text of the document, which was issued to ITAR-TASS today by the presidential press service, says the state credits of the Russian Federation which were not used in 1993 by states which were former republics of the USSR must be used in the first instance for clearing the debts to the "Gazprom" Russian joint-stock company which have arisen for supplies of fuel and energy resources. In particular, the Russian Council of Ministers is required to reach an agreement in as short a time as possible with the governments of the republics on the amount of state credits to be used for clearing the debt indicated. The "Gazprom" Russian joint-stock company, the decree notes, must contribute to Russia's budget revenue, in the form of an advance, 50 percent of the earnings from the sale of products supplied to the republics and paid for by state credits issued by Russia in December 1993.

On Approving Military Regulations

LD1812093993 Moscow Radio Moscow in Russian to Tajikistan 0430 GMT 18 Dec 93

[From the "Radio Slvayanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed an edict approving the General Military Regulations of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation. This decree approves and puts into effect from 1 July 1994: the Interior Service Regulations, the Manual of Garrison and Guard Duties and also the Disciplinary Regulations of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation.

The decree came into effect from the time of signing.

It is also envisaged that the decree will be submitted for examination by the Federal Assembly.

On Renaming Civil Aviation Corps

LD1812234293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1156 GMT 18 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 18 Dec—By a decree from Boris Yeltsin, the separate civil aviation corps of the Ministry of Transport, whose services are used by the president and the country's top officials, has been transformed into the "Rossiya" state transport company. [passage omitted]

Aleksandr Larin, the head of the "Rossiya" company, said the president has at his disposal planes like the IL-62, the TU-154, the TU-134, the YAk-40, and an MI-8 helicopter. A particular plane is selected depending on the president's destination. According to A. Larin, an hour after receiving a command the crew is ready to fly the president anywhere on the planet.

With its new status, the "Rossiya" company has started earning money and has refused state subsidies. It has the chance to expand and to acquire new equipment. Thus the company has already acquired modern planes: a TU-204, an IL-96, the latest design of the French Falcon, an AN-74 and the famous transportation airbus the "Ruslan." Aleksandr Larin said that in the near future an IL-76 would be obtained.

On Exempting Gold Trade From VAT

LD2012114193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1105 GMT 20 Dec 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin decreed to exempt from the value added tax [VAT] the trade in precious metals and stones from state reserves.

A corresponding decree was received by TASS on Monday for publication. The document comes into force since the moment of publication and is to be considered by the new parliament.

The Russian President appointed four heads of regional administrations, according to a decree signed on December 18 and distributed by the press service of the Russian leader on Monday.

Vladimir Polevanov became head of the administration of the Amur region, Evgeniy Savchenko—of the Belgorod region, Vladimir Karpov—of the Bryansk region, Ivan Indinok—of the Novosibirsk region.

Presidential Security Services Created From 9th Directorate

LD1712185493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1508 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Here is a report on changes in the power structures. As our correspondent Eduard Gendeleyev has learned from official sources in the Kremlin, it was announced on 17 December that a directorate of Russia's main security services, the former Ninth Directorate of the USSR KGB, is to be divided up. The new federal body—the presidential security services—has been created on the basis of the old directorate.

Major General Aleksandr (Korzhakov) has been appointed head of the new services. Division of the former directorate was carried out according to the Russian president's

decree signed in November this year. The new federal department will be in charge of providing full-scale security for the Russian president.

To our correspondent's question whether this decision is connected with the results of the elections to the State Duma or any other special circumstances connected with a need for special provisions for Yeltsin's personal security, the new services' administration said no. Division of the main directorate of the Russian security services was carried out within the framework of the general restructuring of the special services in Russia. Such is the official opinion of the presidential security services' administration.

No Further Cuts Seen in Foreign Intelligence Service

MK1812100093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 3

[Viktor Mironov report under the "Behind the Scenes" rubric: "Russia Has Need for Strong Foreign Intelligence Service"]

[Text] Idle rumors of late speak about sweeping cuts in Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service down to the closure of its vital organs. Those putting a scare in gentlemen who are secret service spies are my fellow journalists. I have come to find out that no precipitous campaign of cuts in the intelligence department are in the pipeline near term, including in 1994.

Wishing to avoid my fellow journalists' misinformation bloopers, I turned to Sergey Guskov, a competent source in the press bureau of the Russian Federation Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS]. So he let me in on some curious details of his secret agency. Remarkably, today marks the second anniversary of the FIS, which detached itself from the memorable KGB.

The new federal service hit a bad patch on 18 December 1991: The overseas staff of operatives was halved, the intelligence service lost nearly 30 secret addresses over there, while the central apparatus was axed by 40 percent. But at the moment the process of radical changes in the FIS has been completed. Therefore, elevating the question of cuts in the intelligence department to the rank of a sensation today is untimely, to put it mildly.

Now, to set the intelligence service's record straight, let us talk about some of the slips made by the press. It was, for instance, alleged that the FIS chiefs had dropped the "A" directorate while a subunit under the "PT" acronym was about to be closed down. Well, "A" had no "fall" at all, contrary to the well- known kiddie riddle [involving word games and the loss of the letter "A"]. It has a different letter symbol and is busy working as before in the field of information actions. As for the "RT" (Razvedka s Territorii) [Intelligence From Territory] directorate, it is functioning quite successfully as well, and has no plans to stop its work. The "T" directorate, for some reason, has not been assigned the functions of an organization carrying out active subversion [diversionno-aktivnyye] measures. Incidentally, there are no power [silovyye] structures in the intelligence service. When still part of the First Chief Directorate of the KGB, the subunit in question, right fro the start, was engaged, and is still engaged, in obtaining science and technology intelligence. In simpler terms, industrial espionage, something which no industrial country is squeamish of, as a matter of fact. The "I" directorate has nothing to do with computer intelligence. It provides for the quantification of intelligence activities by creating a computer data base. It has nothing to do with the Federal Agency of Government Communications and Information which is allegedly to absorb the "I" directorate.

Intelligence experts are rather optimistic about the FIS' prospects. It is being asserted, in particular, that the Russian intelligence service at the present time and in its present composition has preserved its fighting trim and is capable of solving its assigned tasks. Should it, however, be assigned a wider range of duties owing to the appearance of absolutely new problems not now inherent in intelligence service functions, one would have to do some hard thinking about its further fate.

One of course should not be sly about it. The personnel problem in the FIS is now very acute. In accordance with the Russian Federation laws on foreign intelligence and the performance of military service that regulate the FIS' activities, the first to be discharged are staffers aged 45 to 50. These are, of course, people who have accumulated a unique experience in specific professional jobs. One should think that they would easily find dignified jobs in their new life, but does Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service stand to gain as a result? More, remaining 100 percent a state structure, the FIS, as all budget-financed organizations for that matter, take the beating of an inadequate state financing. Under these conditions many staffers are seriously thinking of greener pastures.

FIC Official Responds to Fedotov Comments

PM2012115393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Dec 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by Yelena Fabrichnova, press secretary of the Federal Information Center: "The Mysteries of Paris"]

[Text] It is no longer even a cause of surprise that some politicians become particularly garrulous when abroad, and now we have esteemed Mikhail Aleksandrovich Fedotov, who works in Paris, where he represents Russia at UNESCO, meeting with a SEGODNYA correspondent to reveal dreadful secrets to the world. We quote: "He rejected the version of events previously regarded as reliable to the effect that censorship was introduced by the then acting Press Minister Vladimir Shumeyko." Mr. Fedotov goes on to claim that censorship was introduced by Poltoranin.

A well timed attack—right on the eve of the State Duma elections, for which Mikhail Poltoranin was running. But Fedotov, of all people, should know that under the statute ratified by the government it is the Ministry of Press and Information and not the Federal Information Center which deals with questions of censorship.

What is more in evidence here: Incompetence or unscrupulousness? I think that we are dealing here with the frustrated aspirations of a failed politician.

You do not, Mikhail Aleksandrovich, carry Poltoranin's political clout, nor did you show yourself to be a good lawyer when you tried to take DEN to court, or else you simply got cold feet and did everything to ensure that the case was lost, even though the ministry's honor was affected. But, blessed with such qualities, how can you carry political clout? But why take it out on Poltoranin? Perhaps because he is popular, enjoys authority, and has never permitted himself to show cowardice and treachery.

Although you were only in the post of minister a short time, you clearly grasped full well that (I quote you) "the mass media are per se a valuable 'agent of influence' when it comes to earning money," and now, it seems, you are very worried that Poltoranin has "monopolized" the Fourth Estate and will grow very rich. I don't know whether you made use of the opportunities afforded by this "agent," but you must know that Poltoranin, who has spent much longer in the post, has done nothing that could improve his own material well-being. All his actions have been undertaken solely in the interests of the newspapers and the policy of the president, no matter how much you might wish otherwise. So what are your insinuations in aid of? However, that is more a question of morality and thus will hardly be understood by you.

However, Mr. Fedotov's probity is merely one aspect of the matter—there is another issue here to which I would like to draw attention.

The article in question is in flagrant breach of Article 30 Paragraph 2 of the Statute on the Election of Federal Assembly Deputies in 1993, which forbids the dissemination of material "injurious to the honor and dignity of candidate deputies" during the seven days prior to the election. The Court of Arbitration has to deliver a ruling on these breaches. I want to draw attention to the quarter from which Poltoranin has had to suffer attacks recently. He has elicited most irritation in the presenter of the "Itogi" program, Ye. Kiselev, who badly wants to persuade people that he is the most incorruptible of all. Perhaps some people might believe this if Kiselev's journalistic integrity had not been bought by the bankers from "Most."

We also constantly see advertising for that bank on the pages of SEGODNYA. Clearly that publication is pretty well paid by those gentlemen. So what are we going to say in this case? Are we going to talk about how dreadful "the monopolization of the mass media by Poltoranin" is because journalists can lose their independence (although this is an utter lie), or about the fact that certain journalists are right now selling their freedom along with their consciences to whoever will pay them most?

Postscript: The Federal Information Center deemed it necessary to respond to the article. Under Article 43 of the Law on the Press, we should do this via SEGODNYA, but that newspaper, well known for its biased approach to covering events, has refused to publish our response.

We do not intend to pursue that small-circulation newspaper through the courts because that would only attract readers' attention to it. And many of SEGODNYA's articles are scandalmongering.

Security Ministry To Set Up Own Television Team

MK1712141093 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 22/24, 17-23 Dec 93 (signed to press 16 Dec) p 2

[Rodion Morozov report under the "Rumors and Facts" rubric: "Journalists Trained by Russian Security Ministry"]

[Text] According to persistent rumors, Russian Security Ministry chiefs have drawn up a new statute on regulating the Security Ministry's activity. Furthermore, allegedly it has already been submitted to the Russian president for signing.

Officials at the Public Relations Center, however, flatly refused to confirm the information. Nor would they deny it, though. "For many years our fate has been molded over there, at the top, without considering our views on this subject. This will apparently be the case this time around, too," a high-ranking official said. As for structural changes, presently one can talk only about one thing: The press service of the Security Ministry's Moscow administration is to be dissolved.

We contacted Aleksandr Mikhaylov, chief of the administration's press service, and learned that the situation is not that dramatic. Rather, on the contrary. The reorganization is only logical. Press service staffers have long been cooperating with television companies as they cover various operational events. For understandable reasons, an "ordinary" journalist with a camera would be unable to shoot such materials. This is why it was decided to set up a professional television group made up of (henceforth former) staffers of the press service and the Public Relations Center. According to Mikhaylov, the idea of setting up a group like this has long been in the air and has been repeatedly discussed by members of the Security Ministry collegium; security chief Nikolay Golushko has also backed the television team. As for briefing journalists on what is going on at the Moscow administration, from now on this information will be supplied by Irina Mozhelevskaya, the administration chief's press secretary.

Military Issues

Defense Ministry Discusses Safety of Nuclear, Chemical Arms

LD1712173593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1432 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—A meeting of the board of the Russian Defense Ministry today examined the safety of the Russian armed forces' nuclear munitions and nuclear arms, ITAR-TASS was told at the Russian military department's directorate for press and information.

According to the basic clauses of the Russian Federation's military doctrine, nuclear weapons in the Russian state serve to deter any aggression against Russia and its allies. But the ultimate final aim of Russian nuclear policy is to make nonproliferation of nuclear weapons universal, to continue to reduce nuclear arsenals and, eventually, to have all sides destroy them altogether.

The board of the Russian Defense Ministry also discussed the work being done to fulfill a Russian Government instruction and a Defense Ministry order to carry out priority tasks toward the implementation of international obligations in the sphere of chemical weapons, according to the directorate for press and information.

Draft Program Outlines Armaments Conversion Plan

LD1712105393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1026 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—By scrapping its armaments Russia plans to earn 2 trillion roubles and return over four million tonnes of non-ferrous metals and 500 tonnes of precious metals to the national economy, according to a draft utilization programme which was discussed Friday at a session of the Experts' Council in the Russian Government.

It has been worked out by the economics and defence ministries, state defence industry committee and state property committee with the participation of over 60 leading industrial organizations of the country.

The implementation of this programme will also make it possible to produce consumer goods worth one and a half trillion roubles, create additional 150 thousand jobs and allocate a sum of 500 billion roubles to fulfil social and economic needs of armed forces personnel and their families.

A number of organizational, legal, technological and financial problems will have to be solved in order to implement this programme," Georgiy Khizha, chairman of the Expert Council, said at the opening of the session.

"According to preliminary estimates, the implementation of the programme may cost approximately three trillion roubles. For effective scrapping of armaments, storage of which 'eats up' considerable resources from the state budget, it will be necessary to use modern technologies, guaranteeing ecological safety and a high degree of return for the further use of equipment and materials," he said.

The Expert Council chief noted that it is quite natural that the programme envisages, first of all, provising work for defence enterprises whose production facilities stay idle.

The next three years will constitute the first stage of the programme. Its main content will be the creation of technological and production basis of the scrapping industry. Naturally, it will require involvement of considerable resources, which, according to Khizha, should be found not only in the state budget, but also in commercial structures and abroad.

The second stage stipulates the scrapping proper. This process, in Khizha's opinion, will fully pay for itself. The council noted that the federal armament scrapping programme may be in the future considered as the basis of the foundation of the scrapping industry not only of military-technical resources, but also of machinery and equipment of civil industry which will be phased out.

Further on Conversion

LD1712135793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Dec 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Many people are currently thinking about survival and many, it must be said, do find solutions. The Expert Council of the Russian Government has examined a draft federal program for industrial utilization of weapons and military equipment. At first glance it would seem to be a loss-making venture but, as it turns out, it can be very advantageous.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Valeriy Ukhov] By the year 2000 Russia is to cut an enormous quantity of military equipment: 2,000 ballistic missiles, 190 submarines, 1,000 warships, some 4,000 planes, as well as tanks, armored vehicles, and ammunition are to be cut for the purposes of industrial utilization alone.

The Expert Council of the Russian Government today debated how to do it without damaging the country's economy or ecology. It was noted that approximately 3 trillion rubles were needed for all these purposes. The profit from transferring military equipment into civilian economy can amount to about 1 trillion. The main thing now is to select a concept of this whole, enormous program and, as ever, to resolve the issue of initial financing at the very least.

Will this program help preserve defense industry jobs?

[Georgiy Khizha, chairman of the Expert Council] Absolutely correct. Currently the program in the first instance provides work for defense enterprises, the ones that have currently been left with hardly any work to be getting on with and which have free capacity, for they can be put to use to have these tasks resolved. In any case, we are talking about hundreds of thousands of jobs. [end recording]

Armed Forces Conference Discusses Saving Fuel

PM1712114393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Dec 93 p 1

[Petr Altunin report: "If You Do Not Refuel, You Will Not Go Anywhere"]

[Text] Fuel in the Army and Navy is being limited increasingly strictly. But the intensive search for ways of saving fuel is not detrimental to combat training. And today this

involves renewing the material and technical base of the service, increasing the competence of specialists, and combating the embezzlement of fuels and lubricants.

All this was discussed at a three-day muster of leading personnel of the Armed Forces Fuel Service at which Major General Pavel Gorupay, chief of the Ministry of Defense Central Directorate for Rocket Propellant and Fuel, gave a report. Colonel General Vladimir Churanov, chief of the Russian Federation Armed Forces Rear Services, took part in the muster.

Army Paper Views New Military Doctrine

PM1612101193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 2

["Expert Analysis" by Sergey Rogov, president of the Center of National Security and International Relations: "Nuclear Deterrence: Today and Tomorrow"]

[Text] Russia's recently adopted military doctrine differs substantially from the views which were officially adopted in the Soviet period. This applies above all to nuclear policy. Whereas before we resolutely rejected, in words, the "imperialist" concept of nuclear deterrence (or nuclear intimidation), now we have made it one of the fundamentals of our military doctrine: "The aim of the Russian Federation's policy in the sphere of nuclear weapons is to remove the danger of nuclear war through deterring the launch of aggression against the Russian Federation and its allies." Maintaining "the entire range of strategic weapons at a level ensuring the security of the Russian Federation and its allies and strategic stability, deterring nuclear and conventional wars, and also maintaining nuclear security" have been declared the priority task. At the same time Russia has renounced its commitment not to use nuclear weapons first against other nuclear states and their allies.

Thus we have rejected the old propagandist approach to nuclear weapons and interpreted the concept of nuclear deterrence in the form in which the the United States and its NATO allies have always advocated it with considerable frankness. True, the West did not take our peace-loving declarations seriously before, supposing, not without grounds, that the Soviet Union maintained a different stance in reality. Russia's new military doctrine honestly recognizes what was clear even before—our nuclear weapons serve deterrence purposes.

However, it would be a mistake to believe that recognition of reality guarantees security of its own accord. Despite the end of the Cold War, Russia and the United States remain within the framework of a model of interaction in the nuclear sphere which was designed to regulate Soviet-U.S. conflict, not to overcome that confrontation.

And this, despite the fact that the concept of nuclear deterrence, especially that of mutual nuclear deterrence, lays down from the outset certain logical constructions which to a certain extent look inordinately self-confident. After all, nuclear deterrence means the threat to use mass destruction weapons, and in the event that both conflicting states possess nuclear weapons the threat becomes mutual and turns into a double suicide scenario. A strategy which contemplates suicide can hardly be deemed rational. Meanwhile, according to the logic of nuclear deterrence, in order to force the adversary to behave rationally, that is, to reject aggression, it is necessary to demonstrate to him your ability to behave irrationally and your readiness to go against the instinct of self-preservation and embark on mutual destruction.

Essentially this is a complex psychological game, whose aim is to influence the other side's thinking. The price of a mistake for such self-assurance would be simply unimaginable.

The actual logic of nuclear deterrence by no means rules out the possibility of initiating the use of nuclear weapons, and, moreover, inflicting a first strike, in order to break the enemy's will to resist. In general, it was to this end that the most promising (and dangerous) trends of the strategic nuclear arms race were directed in recent decades.

The reverse side of the model of mutual nuclear deterrence is the constant search for a technical solution to the stalemate situation. The logic of military-technical rivalry prompts the search for a means to avoid retribution while disarming the enemy. Hence the effort, on the one hand, to build up counterforce systems capable of taking out defended targets and, on the other, to create reliable strategic defense systems enabling an enfeebled retaliatory strike to be intercepted.

Hence Russia's acknowledgement of its adherence to the concept of nuclear deterrence and the existence of almost identical Russian and U.S. approaches to nuclear weapons by no means resolve the problem of strategic stability in Russian-U.S. relations. In my view, the model of mutual nuclear deterrence, even if both sides maintain it, is incompatible with the idea of strategic partnership proclaimed by the top Russian and U.S. leaders. Nuclear deterrence cannot be effective without the genuine threat of annihilation of the other side; but the maintenance of such a threat will make partnership a rhetorical gesture and undermine its bases.

Consequently the model of mutual nuclear deterrence must be changed. Obviously this process could take place in two phases.

In the first stage the sides will be forced to remain within the framework of the mutual nuclear deterrence system, since the strategic weapons we have inherited from the Cold War period can serve only these and no other purposes. But the model of nuclear deterrence can be made intrinsically new, sharply increasing its level of stability. First and foremost this requires rigorous limitations on counterforce systems, on their role and specific gravity in the sides' strategic forces component. A preemptive strike will be unrealistic if it brings its initiator no advantages. The START II treaty is a step in this direction, reducing the ability of both sides to deliver a counterstrike. But it should be consolidated by other steps reducing the unnecessary and senseless threat to the other side's nuclear systems. And this threat, as is well-known,

could come not only from counterforce nuclear systems, but also from the latest long-range, high-precision weapons fitted with nonnuclear warheads.

An unacceptable inheritance of the Cold War model is the continuing game of cat and mouse on the sea, whose prime aim is to destroy nuclear submarines. Modern ASW systems could create a very dangerous threat to the survivability of the naval component of the strategic triad.

Hence what is required is not only the reduction of various weapons systems but also additional confidence-building measures, in order to put an end to the destabilizing practice of "normal" military activity in the strategic sphere. This model of mutual nuclear deterrence could be formed as early as the end of this decade, on the condition that Russia is the sole inheritor of the Soviet nuclear potential and the pretensions of Ukraine, and possibly Kazakhstan, to "their" share of the strategic nuclear weapons are rejected.

In the next phase it will evidently be possible to attempt to go beyond the bounds of the model of mutual nuclear deterrence and to base Russian-U.S. relations in this sphere on a fundamentally new basis. By way of an example, in my view, one could take relations between Britain and France—states possessing an approximately identical nuclear potential sufficient to destroy one another as civilized nations but which, nevertheless, closely cooperate. Although a number of problems exist between Britain and France, relations between them do not develop on the basis of mutual nuclear deterrence, that is to say the threat of mutual annihilation, but are marked by cooperation and alliance. Positive cooperation in the economic, political, and military spheres, as this example attests, enables the model of mutual nuclear deterrence to be rejected, even while the ability to annihilate one another is retained.

It cannot be ruled out that Russia and the United States also could reach a stage in their collaboration on the basis of cooperation and partnership under which the model of mutual nuclear deterrence is rejected, even while retaining sufficiently large (from a few hundred to several thousand nuclear warheads) nuclear forces.

It is hard at the moment to speak of the details of this model of relations. Possibly, it would be extremely useful for both sides to remove the greater part of their strategic nuclear weapons from combat alert, which would minimize the threat of the use of nuclear arms against one another. But perhaps Russian-U.S. collaboration in the interests of maintaining peace and international stability, including conducting peacekeeping operations and operations to compel peace by force on a bilateral and multilateral basis, would have the greatest impact. This positive cooperation would enable us to finally dispense with the stereotypes of mutual nuclear deterrence.

Economic Issues

Sobchak Condemns Government Federal Budget Policy

LD1612224693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1257 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Mayor of St. Petersburg Anatoliy Sobchak has accused the government of trying to resolve its problems at the cost of territories. In a speech to the conference of regional financiers of northwestern Russia, in discussing the federal budget Sobchak said St. Petersburg would lose up to 25 percent in next year's tax revenues.

"I would have supported this approach had the federal government been in a financial squeeze," he said. Instead of saying how much the territories ought to spend and pay in taxes, the government is offering to increase the federal tax, Sobchak said.

The mayor accused the government of not wanting to cut its own spending or trim down its staff. He said government spending in St. Petersburg would be reduced and the state property fund's regional committee halved.

Sobchak blamed the pro-government alliance's defeat in elections on miscalculations in the government's policy at home and abroad and blunders made by the president and his cabinet.

Government Preparing Economic Security Concept

LD1712160993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0530 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] The Russian Government is preparing the concept of the country's economic security, Oleg Soskovets, first vice prime minister said. Soskovets said that concern for the Russian market and the Russian producer should be at the basis of this concept. He assumes that producers of agricultural output and part of the goods of light industry might need state protection.

Government To Seek To Stabilize Oil Industry

LD1712123093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1119 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] The Russian government intends to take steps aimed at stabilizing the oil industry's operations. Interfax has learned that at a meeting of fuel and energy industry managers, chaired by Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets, a decision was made to submit to the cabinet drafts of presidential decrees on state support for the oil industry, on starting the operation of new oilfields and on improving foreign trade activities in the oil industry.

The documents provide for financing the debts in capital construction and compensation of losses incurred by the industry's enterprises as a result of state price control. Adoption of the drafts would signify continuation of the existing benefits, notably in foreign trade, for the oil industry. Numerous steps would be taken to start the operation of new oilfield.

The meeting also decided to tell the appropriate ministries and the Central Bank to consider ways to settle payments for the resources supplied by the fuel and energy enterprises, in particular settlements with other industries.

Finance Ministry Changes Rules for Gold Purchase

LD1912225893 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] According to Yevgeniy Bychkov, chairman of the Russian committee for precious metals [under the ministry of finance], the output of the Russian gold industry in the 11 months of this year has been 137.8 tonnes. Another 20 or so tonnes are expected to be produced before the year ends, which is an indication that gold production rates remain the same as they have been in the past several years.

Meanwhile, the Russian ministry of finance has announced plans to change the rules for purchasing gold from the diggers. Only half of their output will be purchased by the state now—20 to 30 percent of it through the Central Bank. The rest will be offered for sale to commercial banks. So far some seven or eight commercial banks of high repute are vying for the license, mainly those that have purchased a so-called gold certificate—a new security on the Russian finance market, which is guaranteed by a deposit of 10 kilos of gold with the Central Bank. The diggers will be free to sell the remaining gold if they undertake to plough the proceeds back into production and they are not allowed to export gold they produce on their own. Instead, the government intends to help create a domestic precious metals market, as well as conditions for foreign investment in this sector.

Regional Affairs

Chechen 'Clans' Support Dudayev in Standoff

LD1712231793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2129 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] The heads of all clans in the Chechen Republic took the side of Dzhokhar Dudayev during protests by the military Thursday with political demands to the president, INTERFAX was told by Ruslan Kutayev, leader of the Council of Clans and Ethnic Groups in the Chechen Republic.

Field commanders and their armed supporters, as well as the opposition, gathering December 16 on Mansur Square in the capital city of Groznyy, demanded that Dzhokhar Dudayev resign as the prime minister, that a new Cabinet be formed, and that early parliamentary elections be held late in March. Kutayev described the tactics by the military as short-sighted and said that any such demonstrations may lead to bloodshed and civil war.

Only the congress of clans scheduled for late December can solve all political problems peacefully, said Kutayev. He believes that the congress decisions may be crucial for the Chechen people.

Taking part in the congress to be held December 25-26 will be delegates not only of the clans living in the Chechen Republic but also of the Chechen diaspora in the CIS and other countries.

The congress is likely to make a decision on preparations for parliamentary elections and will propose that President Dudayev cooperate with the election commission formed by the congress.

Kutayev has said that if the president refuses to cooperate, the congress will decide that legal powers be transferred to the Clans Council for the period of the election campaign.

Ultimatum to Dudayev To End 20 Dec

LD2012094693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0739 GMT 20 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 20 Dec—"Terrorist attacks covered by specific articles of the criminal code" is how Chechnya's Procurator General Elza Sheripova described the actions of armed formations opposed to Dzhokhar Dudayev. Speaking on local television on Sunday, she said that "criminal proceedings have been launched against mutineers registered nowhere and subordinate to no one".

Field commanders—and specifically Shamil Basayev, Khamzat Khamkarov, and Salman Chichayev—who are backed by trained fighters, have issued an ultimatum demanding the removal of Dudayev from the post of prime minister, the creation of a Ministry of Defense, and immediate elections to a new republican parliament.

The ultimatum expires today. Dudayev should give some kind of response. It is virtually impossible at the moment to predict the sides' future conduct. All that is known is that Dudayev's supporters are preparing a rally in his support at the center of Groznyy. Meanwhile, the official media are waging a campaign to discredit the rebel units.

The opinion of the head of Chechnya's government of national reconciliation—the influential Yaragi Mamodayev—is interesting. He told ITAR-TASS by phone that "anti-Dudayev sentiments in Groznyy have been provoked by Dudayev himself, so that he can evade responsibility for the total plunder of Chechnya's national wealth". Mamodayev stressed that "Dudayev's political stock is falling at a disastrous speed, and the noise raised by the ultimatum is allowing him to let off steam to a certain extent, pile the blame onto his own ministers, and emerge unscathed". This time, however, Mamodayev is convinced, "Dudayev has already sawn through the branch he is perched on, and his government in Groznyy will bow out with the passing year".

2d Round of Voting in Chuvashia Previewed

MK1812111093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 3

[Radik Batyrshin report under the "Chuvashia" rubric: "Local Leaders Let Down by Loyalty to Center. Republic's President Will be Elected in Second Round"]

[Text] The presidency will be contested by a former justice minister and a university rector. According to the official results of the elections for the republic's first president, none of the seven candidates won an absolute majority of votes, and those who qualified for a second round are former Russian Justice Minister Nikolay Fedorov, and Lev Kurakov, rector of Chuvash University. Curiously, Eduard Kubarev, the present leader of Chuvashia and chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, got as little as 3.5 percent of the votes in the presidential elections. Dropped from the presidential race were also Valerian Viktorov, head of the republic's government, and first vice speaker Boris Yakovlev. As for the Russian Federation constitution, 41.1 percent of voters cast their ballots for it in Chuvashia. Also significant is the first troika in the voting on party lists. Far ahead in the lead are the Liberal Democrats and the Communists. They are trailed by the Travkin party. Local observers think that the official leaders were let down by their excessive loyalty to the center while most voters in Chuvashia cast their votes for opposition parties, thus indicating their attitude to the center. Also indicative is the fiasco of Atner Khuzangay, leader of the national Radical Party of Chuvash National Revival, who came forward with an idea for uniting the peoples of the Urals and the Volga area—6 percent of the votes. Observers therefore think that the republic's population feel like a moderate revolt against Moscow's policy. Nikolay Fedorov is for reforming the budget and taxation relations with Moscow, protectionism for local producers, and support for underprivileged sections of the population. "Firm order, reforms without shock, social protection, a market with elements of government regulation and the development of a genuinely sovereign Chuvash Republic as part of the Russian Federation"—such are Lev Kurakov's buzzwords.

Both rivals for Chuvashia's presidency think of themselves as centrists while trying to distance themselves from centrists on the federal level. Curiously, it was mainly the urban population who voted for Nikolay Fedorov in the first round, while those who voted for Lev Kurakov come from rural areas. Considering that Chuvashia is the only republic in the Urals-Volga area, the majority of whose population is made up of indigenous people, one can suppose that the outcome of the presidential race will be decided by the votes of the Chuvashi. The second round of elections for Chuvashia president are scheduled for 26 December.

Moscow Duma Holds First Meeting To Elect Chairman

LD1712212593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1819 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—The first meeting of the Moscow regional Duma was held here today to elect ex-deputy head of the Moscow regional administration in charge of economic issues Alexey Vorontsov its chairman. Fourteen out of the 49 Duma members are former deputies of the regional council. 30 per cent of the deputies are women.

The next meeting is scheduled for December 23 to discuss the Duma time-limit and structure.

Founding Congress of New Party To Open in Kazan

MK1812114093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 5

[Lev Ambinder report: "Shaymiyev Party Congress"'President's' Party Being Set Up in Kazan"]

[Text] A founding congress of the Republican Party of Tatarstan "Unity and Progress" (RPTUP) is opening today in Kazan. Local observers have already dubbed the future party "the president's" party because its founders are either members of the immediate entourage of the Tatarstan president or supporters of his policy. Nor does Mintimer Shaymiyev hide his sympathies for the RPTUP's program objectives.

Observers think that once the RPTUP is in place a new stage of political life will begin, not only of Tatarstan but also of all of Russia. In a KOMMERSANT-DAILY interview Rafail Khakimov, a co-chairman of the organizing committee, President Shaymiyev's adviser, and an ideologist of the future party stated that the organizers of the RPTUP were rallied together by the idea of state sovereignty for Tatarstan and their participation in Kazan's two-year long talks with Moscow. Thus, considering Tatarstan's role in the Russian Federation, and the presence in it of powerful forces upholding the idea of an association with Russia, one can suppose that the future party would soon emerge on the federal political arena and make Moscow reckon with itself.

As Mr. Khakimov declared, the party will probably orient itself toward West European social democracy. The party's immediate objective, its organizers think, is to campaign for seats in the republic's parliament in the March 1994 elections.

The congress is to pass the party's rules and program, and to elect its leading organs. KOMMERSANT-DAILY will report the final results of the congress on 21 December.

Elec[illegible] Slated for Altay Kray Legislative Assembly

MK1812113093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "Provincial Chronicle" column]

[Text] Barnaul—The Altay Kray Council of People's Deputies has scheduled elections to the Kray Legislative Assembly for 13 March 1994. It was decided that this representative body will be bicameral. It was proposed that 25 people be elected to the lower chamber—the legislative chamber, of which several will be working on a full time basis. The upper chamber—the chamber of representatives—will include deputies from each district, of which

there are 73 in Altay. This chamber will consider major social programs and budget matters.

CCP Chairman Explains Resignation

LD1812201093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1716 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] Yuriy Shanibov, chairman of the Confederation of the Caucasian Peoples [CCP], has declared about his resignation explaining this decision by worsening of his health after he was wounded in Abkhazia winter 1993 and by the need to include those people into the CCP leadership who "are able to develop a new strategy and tactics."

Our INTERFAX correspondents report that according to observers, contradictions within the Confederation and its defeat at the December 12 elections to the Kabardino-Balkarian parliament have also affected Shanibov's decision.

A 57-year old Yuriy Shanibov has headed the Confederation of the Caucasian Peoples since 1989, he was one of the initiators to render armed aid to Abkhazia on the part of North Caucasian peoples. At present he teaches in the Kabardino-Balkarian university and remains first deputy chairman of the Congress of the Kabardin people.

International Affairs

Kravchuk on Relations With Russia, Yeltsin Remarks

LD1712194593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1730 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Whether Russian President Boris Yeltsin actually voiced a statement that "Ukraine deceives the whole world regarding nuclear weapons" during his recent meeting with U.S. Vice President Al Gore or not has not influenced and will not influence "the process of the signing of Ukrainian-Russian agreements," President Leonid Kravchuk declared to journalists during his visit to the Kiev exhibition Ukraine's Stone.

"There exist objective processes which cannot be stopped by anybody, either Yeltsin, Kravchuk, or Zhirinovskiy. If someone tries to stop these processes he will loose everything," he said.

At the same time Kravchuk noted that "he has not heard the president's voice." "Those articles which you make public or words you say do not serve as grounds for me to make any statements," he said.

Kravchuk does not rule out that Yeltsin "could have said this in a special atmosphere among a certain circle of people." "I do not believe that the president represented these words in such a context," he declared. "I cannot believe that Boris Nikolayevich thinks that our state can deceive somebody. Ukraine has been and will be on friendly terms with Russia," underlined Kravchuk.

At the same time, the president made the supposition that "it's just an error" or these words were said "under the influence of the situation." It is difficult to abstain from sharp statements under the present difficult political situation, he noted.

According to the president, Ukraine has not given any occasion to set forth such accusations.

As Kravchuk reported, a delegation made of Russian and American experts arrived in Kiev on December 16 to discuss nuclear weapons problems in Ukraine.

In his words, on Friday Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko and Vice Premier Valeriy Shmarov reported to him that the negotiations "are developing interesting proposals both on compensation and on technical and scientific assistance" and on a schedule for signing "additional agreements."

Ministry Protests Yeltsin Comments

AU2012092993 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 18 Dec 93 p 2

[Report by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Administration and UKRINFORM: "The Temporary Charge d'Affaires of the Russian Federation Was Invited to Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] On 16 December, the temporary charge d'affaires of the Russian Federation in Ukraine and envoy-adviser, Anatoliy Kovalev, was invited to the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with the Russian president's statements regarding Ukraine that he made during his meeting with U.S. Vice President A. Gore. It was stressed to the temporary charge d'affaires that such statements on the part of Russian state and political leaders at any level are inadmissible, because they may have a noticeable effect upon the general atmosphere and further development of relations between Ukraine and Russia.

Official Questions INTERFAX Statements

AU2012092793 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 18 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Statement by the Press Secretary of the Ukrainian President"]

[Text] In connection with the information disseminated by the INTERFAX agency on the Russian president's statement regarding Ukraine's position on the nuclear weapons issue that was allegedly made during the meeting with U.S. Vice President A. Gore, the Ukrainian president's press secretary, Viktor Stelmakh, has said that not infrequently information agencies disseminate information that involves inaccuracies. It is difficult to assume that the president of Russia, being well aware of Ukraine's intentions to achieve in the future a nuclear-free status and of the Ukrainian president's position on these issues, could, in characterizing the policy of this friendly state, use the words attributed to him by INTERFAX.

Export Control Initiatives Assessed at Talks

WS1712135893 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] A Ukrainian delegation, led by Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister Tarasyuk, held consultations with the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Control, COCOM, in its Paris-based headquarters for the first time ever since the organization was established. During the consultations, COCOM members were briefed on efforts undertaken by the Ukrainian Government intended to usher in a state system of export control as well as control over weapons, weapon transfers, nuclear arms components, and transportation means. The COCOM members highly praised the Ukrainian Government's efforts directed at consolidating an efficient system of export control, which is an important factor for international security and cooperation. It was noted that the consultation opened a new era in relations between Western states and Ukraine and promoted equal cooperation. The COCOM countries positively reacted to a declaration of the Ukrainian Government about cooperation in the sphere of control over sensitive technology exports. At the meeting, some of the countries proposed to extend urgent financial aid to Ukraine and establish partnership in the sphere of export control.

National Affairs

Kravchuk, Government Resignation Sought at Meeting

LD1812193293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] Public and political organizations adopted an appeal to the citizens of the city and Ukraine at a meeting held in Sevastopol today. The appeal supports the decision by pro-communist organizations to set up a strike committee in the city and announce pre-strike readiness. Those at the meeting demanded the immediate resignation of the Ukrainian Government and of President Kravchuk and the handing over of all powers to the Soviets. They also demanded that the Ukrainian parliament take measures to reunify the single union [as heard].

People's Defense Organization Legalized

LD1812204093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1858 GMT 18 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Nekrasova]

[Text] Lvov December 18 TASS—The nationalist UNSO [Ukrainian People's Self-Defense Organization] has been legalized again.

Moscow October developments frightened the Ukrainian leadership and the parliament introduced an amendment in the legislation to outlaw such units. But, in fact, the UNSO was just suggested to remove the "military association" wording from its rules, said head of the Lvov legal department Taras Kostur.

Now the UNSO rules and other documents "correspond to the current legislation". The UNSO proclaimed a task of "preparing young people for military service, assistance to state power bodies and enterprises in elimination of accident aftermath, and sports-patriotic education." The organization has been registered in Lvov, Kharkov, Ternopol, and Kiev.

UNSO chief ideologist Yuriy Shukhevich and territorial commanders Oleg Vitovich and Andrey Shkil have been nominated by the organization candidates for Ukrainian deputies at the upcoming elections on March 27. In the opinion of some politicians, they may gain the majority of votes in western Ukraine.

Cabinet, Bank Officials on Not Issuing New Currency

LD1712144293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1308 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Nekrasova]

[Text] Lvov December 17 TASS—The Ukrainian population is suffering from a new disease, grivna-phobia. Today's statement, issued by the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers and the management of the National Bank, tried to calm the people down by saying that at present they do not intend to introduce the new currency, but nobody believes them. Dealers at the market places of Lvov, Zhitomir and Kiev are already trading in grivnas.

After the meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers Viktor Yushchenko, chief banker of the country, joked: "this Thursday the grivna will not be introduced. But I assure you that some day it will, and the day is sure to be Thursday." The Ukrainian press circulated the joke of the chairman of the national bank, which triggered a way of panic buying. Now Ukrainians regard every approaching Thursday as the coming of the doomsday.

The report to the effect that another super-inflation banknote, 200,000 karbovanets, is being printed in France, pacified the population a little. Members of parliament cannot give a coherent explanation, only say that all of them received wages in coupons. Reliable sources in the National Bank of Ukraine report, however, that the karbovanets will be in circulation even after the introduction of the grivna. The exchange rate will be approximately 10,000 karbovanets for one grivna. Meanwhile, mills and factories prefer not to sell their products, expecting the "dooms Thursday."

Decree Outlines Roles for Officials, Institutions

MK1812124093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 3

[Vladimir Kiyan report under the "Ukraine" rubric with general headline "Kravchuk May Be Given Right To Pass Laws"]

[Text] The text of a parliamentary decree on Ukraine's economic and social situation, prepared by a deputies working group, has been distributed among Ukrainian people's deputies. The document says, among other things, that "the Council of Ministers, the National Bank, and local authorities—in violation of the law, irresponsibly, with loose executive discipline, and with considerably overstaffed personnel—have not created social safety nets in advance, which has caused a plunge in people's living standards and an escalation of social tensions at a time of yet another price rise." The draft decree also calls for taking into account anti-crisis, anti-inflationary measures devised by the government and holding the Ukrainian Council of Ministers responsible for enforcing them. The Ukrainian president, as a guarantor of the Constitution, was recommended to hold officials personally liable for actions of the government or other executive bodies that may cause living standards to drop, impede production and entrepreneurial activity, jeopardize market structures, and so forth. The Council of Ministers, the National Bank, the General Prosecutor's Office, and standing deputies' commissions dealing with legislative matters were obliged to bring all departmentally enforceable enactments into line with current Ukrainian legislation and to draw up a law increasing bureaucrats' liability for actions causing economic and political damage to the state. The document also provides that only the parliament may make decisions on issuing money and giving credits to pay for current expenditures, including the state budget deficit. At the same time, Volodymyr Pilipchuk, chairman of the

standing deputies' commission on economic reform and the management of the national economy, has prepared draft laws on delegating to the Ukrainian president extra powers and rights to issue edicts that have force of law with regard to entrepreneurial activity, the country's social and cultural development, the monetary system, taxation, labor payments, and pricing. To this end, Pilipchuk proposed that an article of the Ukrainian Constitution giving the Supreme Soviet these rights be suspended until the new Supreme Soviet is convened. Giving reasons for his proposals, Pilipchuk said that presently the incumbent deputies are for the most part preoccupied with the election campaign and they have no time to deal with economic law-making.

Central Election Commission Registers 3 Parties

LD1812214493 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Report from Central Electoral Commission in Kiev on 18 December]

[Excerpt] [Unidentified reporter] The Ukraine Central Election Commission examined registration applications and other documents filed by political parties that have declared an intention to nominate candidates for the election of people's deputies of Ukraine. According to Article 14 of the Law on Elections, the Central Electoral Commission resolved to register three parties. Chairman of the Commission Ivan (Yemets) gave registration certificates to representatives of the Ukrainian Republican Party with a membership of 12,000; the Communist Party of Ukraine, with a membership of 122,560; and the Party of the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, with 20,000 members. [passage omitted]

Socialist Party Outlines Electoral Platform

LD1912151693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1340 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] The Ukrainian Socialist Party adopted its preelection platform "To socialism through the power of people, welfare and security" at its third congress which was over on Sunday.

The party's Leader, Alexander Moroz stated that the party supported the establishment of independent Ukraine. However, it proposes that the broken relations with Russia be restored and that Ukraine integrate with CIS.

The Ukrainian Socialist Party stands for granting the whole amount of power to the local councils and for regular convocation of the Ukrainian Congress of People's Deputies.

The congress also adopted the appeal "To working people of Ukraine" in which the socialist party declares its intention to cooperate with the communist and peasant parties. However, the socialist party intends to oppose the parties and movements of the "nationalist and bureaucratic elite" - the People's RUKh, the Republican Party, the Democratic Party and others.

There are about 30,000 members and about 120,000 active supporters of the Ukrainian Socialist Party. The party emphasizes that it is in the opposition to the current power in Ukraine.

There are 25 regional, 58 city and 244 district committees of the Ukrainian Socialist Party. It is one of the Ukrainian biggest legal parties.

'New Ukraine' Group Meets, Highlights Tasks

LD1812160693 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1446 GMT 18 Dec 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Valentyn Vernodubenko]

[Text] One cannot construct a normal civic society in our country without economic reforms, that are grounded on the priority of private ownership and freedom of entrepreneurship, stated Volodymyr Hrynyov, head of the "New Ukraine" association, in a political report at its third congress. The congress took place in Kiev on 18 December.

In the opinion of the speaker, one of the most pressing tasks in the area of economic reforms is to attract land, means of production, fixed property, and the labor force to market circulation. Speaking about the tasks facing the association before the elections, Volodymyr Hrynyov expressed himself in favor of the necessity of concentrating the attention of all parties belonging to the association to work in the regions. Taking into account the lessons of Russia, where the centrist forces experienced defeat during elections, "New Ukraine", he said, should not isolate itself from other associations and movements close to it, but be in blocs with them and resort to compromises. This is also topical because "New Ukraine" will barely create an influential faction in the new parliament. It can count on, according to predictions, not more than 20 deputies seats.

Rukh Leader Details Goals, Election Plans

WS1712131593 Kiev RADA in Ukrainian 9 Dec 93 p 5

[Interview with Vyacheslav Chornovil, head of the Popular Movement of Ukraine, by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "We Achieve Our Goals Through Elections"]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] What is your opinion on attempts to "bury" Rukh and statements that it is already a closed chapter?

[Chornovil] If we had not opportunely changed the character of Rukh, it would really have been buried. Organizations of a popular front or movement type are doomed; they are short-lived associations intended, in general, for destructive purposes. In our case, these were the downfall of the empire, the proclamation of statehood, the democratization of our society, and the elimination of the communist party monopoly in power. Rukh has carried out these tasks, except, perhaps, the last one—the elimination of the communist nomenclature from power control.

Constructive work for building up statehood and democracy requires an organization of a different type. The former Rukh, having united under the banners of independence and political plurality the entire spectrum—from ultra rightists to liberal communists—was not able to take up this work. However, we have not allowed our Rukh to fall apart and collapse, as happened with the popular movements of Latvia and Estonia, with "Sajudis" in Latvia [as published—"Sajudis" is a Lithuanian movement] and "Solidarity" in Poland. We have achieved a goal that was unachievable for democrats in these countries—having maintained Rukh structures and activists, we gradually transformed our movement into a centrist political organization. Today, we are the largest political organization for the very reason that we have not allowed Rukh to dissolve into political parties. A few have left, but the bulk have stayed.

Rukh cannot be termed a political party in the common sense of the word because we have preserved the tripartite structure of our membership in order to secure our mass character and we have avoided a deeply centralized organizational structure. We are a political organization of a somewhat different type, which preserves much of the former period of the Popular Movement of Ukraine.

This, strictly speaking, was a cause of distress for all who have denied that there is a political opposition and objected to any significant political counterforce. Above all, for the nomenclature—the "power party"—and, in particular, for the president and his entourage. Therefore, we have been suffering an attack from both flanks. From the communists' flank, the attack, as a matter of fact, has never stopped. What the more, they received support from the former democrats in a presidential surrounding. The presidential associates began to form alternative organizations to Rukh, some of which even bear the name "Rukh".

We had to make great efforts to protect our organization, stabilize the organizational situation, and develop muscles. With regard to the several burials of Rukh (a good token—we will live long!), they were nothing but wishful thinking. Today Rukh is an organization of adherents. Local splits, fortunately, are insignificant, and they are over. Today Rukh involves the people who are closely united around our program for the building of statehood, which, having been approved by us a year ago, determined our path. Incidentally, we were the first to develop such a conception for building statehood. It was not a party program, but rather an electoral platform; other parties are only beginning to work out such documents. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Readers are interested in Rukh and its participation in elections.

[Chornovil] Any political force achieves its goals during elections providing it is a democratic force and a political organization of a parliamentary type. As a matter of fact, we began arrangements for the elections long ago. Having developed the program for the building of statehood, we presented it as a detailed version of our pre-electoral platform. Now, we are reworking it into a compact and more concise platform. We have held several seminars on preparations for forthcoming elections. During those seminars, as well as the sessions of the Council and the Command, we always stated and emphasized that forthcoming elections are our principal task.

We appealed to form electoral staffs long before the early elections were scheduled. Shortly after the term of the early elections had been scheduled, on the next day, we held a session of the Central Command in Vinnytsya, where the directives for forthcoming electoral campaign were elaborated. We have engaged in hard work, since all our activity is dedicated to the elections.

Another issue is that the adopted electoral law is absolutely anti-democratic and curbs our capabilities. The electoral law is shaped to hamper the political development of the society. It is an anti-party law, or, speaking metaphorically, a one-party law, adopted for the "power party". This law, in fact, put a party on the same footing with a small collective of two to three persons.

Unprecedented is the fact that the law ignores nominating bodies. Neither a party nor that infamous working collective can nominate a candidate; they can only put forth suggestions for candidates, who should collect signatures. Such a system cannot be found anywhere in the world. Next, the possibilities for financing electoral campaigns are sharply limited. This works in favor of those who have no financial problems. Again, except for Belarus, as it seems, nowhere in the world can one find such odious nominating by working collectives; in the situation of a totally state-owned economic sector, such nominations are wholly controlled by the administration or the nomenclature. The sarcastic amendment put forth by Ivan Makar was logically consistent with this electoral law—he proposed to unburden working collectives of this unnecessary task and have their managers or superiors submit the nominations. The draft law on the participation of representatives of blocs or parties in electoral commissions has also been prepared in a special way—these representatives were given only the status of observer in electoral districts where their party associates run for the election. Responsibility for the formation of electoral commissions was fully given to local councils. Everyone knows the value of these local councils. Nomenclature have adopted the electoral law for their own sake in order to obtain complete power and fortify the positions of the "power party".

In such times, democratic forces have to be united and well-organized, or else they will surely lose the elections held on the basis of such an anti-democratic law.

By the way, not only the parliament's stance, but also the president's stance was clearly defined. Before the discussion on the draft law, he stated in the Supreme Council that the electoral law should exclude from the Supreme Council those political leaders who stand in his way and, as he said, "stir up trouble". Such a presidential directive was implemented by the parliament speaker who literally in the last moment changed the current draft law and amended it with that odious statement on those seeking candidacy from a party or working collective. Ivan Stepanovich

[Plyushch] can be recorded in history as the author of the most bizarre electoral law in the democratic world.

In such a situation, Rukh should explain to voters why such a law was adopted, and convince them that even within the framework of such a law, the power of the old nomenclature can be routed. We must work for the unity of democratic forces wherever possible. If an overall bloc is impossible, let us form a regional one; if a regional bloc is impossible, let us form a district one. As a rule, we must select one candidate of a reformist orientation, which has a chance to win in balloting. All the better if he is from Rukh, because we need a significant faction in the parliament. If we took 20-25 percent of seats, and other democratic parties won some seats, then, taking into account nonparty deputies supporting the market reforms, we would be able to constitute a parliamentary majority.

Thus, Rukh is heading for a quarter of deputy seats at a minimum. If we had a mixed electoral system, or a majoritarian one of a different type, we would normally win much more. [passage omitted]

KNDS News Conference Notes Program, Political Events

LD1812142493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] On the eve of the second assembly of the Congress of National Democratic Forces [Konhres Natsionalno-Demokratychnykh Syl—KNDS], that will take place on 19 December, the political parties and civic organizations united in the KNDS held a news conference. Reporters were succinctly informed about the congress's election platform and the main points of its economic program, which in the opinion of its adherents, is capable of leading Ukraine out of the crisis.

Mykhaylo Horyn, head of the KNDS, people's deputy and leader of the Ukrainian Republican Party, noted that the congress, set up in August 1992 in an attempt to unite the national democratic forces of Ukraine, after the reorientation of the People's Movement of Ukraine into a political party, is not renouncing its position. It should come to the elections as a large bloc of democratic forces, that have united on a wide public platform.

The KNDS will continue to be in opposition to the extreme left, while the extreme right, in the opinion of the KNDS leaders, are not strong enough to have an effect on the results of the future elections. Mykhaylo Horyn assessed the recently created Hrynyov-Kuchma bloc as one that arouses concern, inasmuch as although its intentions are reformist ones, the reforms are oriented toward Moscow.

After the latest events in Moscow—the entry of openly chauvinist Fascist forces into the political arena—noted the KNDS leader, Ukraine should come to the appropriate conclusions on this, the eve of the elections. If the KNDS previously put external factors impeding the process of the making of Ukraine in second place, giving priority to internal factors, then now these forces of counteraction have become equipollent, said Mykhaylo Horyn.

Electoral Program Approved

LD2012100493 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2220 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev, 19 Dec—The Congress of National Democratic Forces [KNDS] assembly approved the election platform. In the run-up to the election, the KNDS will campaign for protection of the rights of the private owner and his or her property agains any claims on the part of the state, for an in-depth structural reform of the economy, and for fair privatization of state property. It will stress the development of the materials and technical base of small enterprises. Elections, KNDS leaders believe, are the only chance and the only opportunity for the people of Ukraine to express their will and their aspirations.

Democratic Coalition Expecting 25 Percent of Seats

WS1712155693 Kiev VECHIRNIY KYYIV in Ukrainian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Svitlana Synyakova: "Neither Splits Nor Discords Nor Spying Have Become the Death of Rukh"]

[Text] The Fifth All-Ukrainian Conference of the Rukh, held in the Ukraina Palace on 10-12 December, will be continued on 16-17 April 1994. New governing bodies will be formed then and a strategy for presidential elections drafted.

With regard to the competition for Supreme Council seats, Rukh leaders believe that the party will win at least 25 percent. This outlook is substantiated by the popularity of lawmakers representing the Rukh in the current legislature and by the existence of strong structures in Galicia, central Ukraine, and some eastern oblasts.

Having embarked on a path of democratic, nonviolent political and economic changes, the organization is not planning to form its own faction in the new legislature. To ensure the victory of democracy, the Rukh will form coalitions with other political and public organizations whose policy is aimed at strengthening Ukrainian statehood, implementing reform, fighting crime, and protecting the environment.

As of today, the coalition represents 16 organizations. However, according to Rukh Chairman Vyacheslav Chornovil, all democrats may reach concord and start acting jointly. If the coalition nominates one candidate at each of the 450 electoral districts it will be able to win the constitutional majority of seats in the legislature. This may lead to forming a government of people's confidence and adopting a new constitution.

The Rukh will also support independent candidates like Kostyantyn Morozov and Borys Kozhyn.

The conference was attended by Levko Lukyanenko, Slava Stetsko, Volodymyr Yavorivskyy, Ihor Yukhnovskyy, Pavlo Movchan, Dmytro Pavlychko, and other politicians which demonstrates that democrats have realized the

necessity for unity. They understand that they will have to overcome heavy obstacles put in their way by the undemocratic electoral law and deal with fierce resistance on the part of the unregistered but powerful party of power.

The Rukh is being supported by Ukrainian entrepreneurs who have formed their own association—the Economic Movement of Ukraine.

Security Official on Electoral Outcomes

LD1712223193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2129 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] The chief of the department for combating organized crime and corruption of Ukraine's Security Service, Colonel Grigoriy Omelchenko, believes that events could develop in the country according to one of two possible scenarios related to the canceling of parliamentary elections on March 27, 1994. He spoke in Kiev Friday at the news conference called "Journalists and Democratic Elections."

Omelchenko believes that if the state and managerial nomenclature see that the Democrats managed to have their nominees in two thirds of the constituencies, it will resort to any political provocation after which a state of emergency may be introduced in Ukraine and parliamentary and presidential elections canceled.

The other scenario says that the nomenclature may unleash a broad campaign against the elections, which may not take place and the date for new elections will not be set.

Addressing representatives of Democratic parties, Omelchenko called on them to learn the lesson from the elections to the Russian State Duma and propose only an agreed-upon Democratic candidate in each constituency.

The conference also made public the statement from 19 staff members of the department for youth programs at Channel 1 of Ukrainian television. The document warns that state TV is preparing to do its best to bar reformist forces from the air during the future election campaign.

Earlier, the hosts of the live TV program "Gart" read out a statement, after which the program was cut short.

On December 17 the leaders of the State TV and Radio Broadcasting company proposed that the journalists of the youth department write a statement declaring they are leaving of their own free will.

Workers' Union Convenes 'Extraordinary' Congress

WS1712135793 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] In an urgent measure prompted by the majority of its local organizations, the All-Ukrainian Association of Workers' Solidarity [VOST], one of the largest organizations within the Ukrainian Free Trade Unions, is convening its fourth extraordinary congress to prevent its collapse and elaborate its strategy and tactics during privatization and the election campaign. The congress is scheduled for 18 December in Kiev. A UKRINFORM correspondent learned this from the congress's Organizing Committee.

A declaration prepared for the press emphasized that the danger of the VOST's collapse is posed by numerous violations of its statute as well as its falsification by most of the Presidium members. The entire VOST organization and its Presidium were invited to participate in the congress. Interesting enough, the head of the VOST, Oleksandr Bdzholyk, termed the group of the organization's former leaders who are organizing the congress adventurists. In his words, they are pursuing their career and financial interests. This is why any decisions taken by this illegitimate congress, the declaration says, will have no consequences for the All-Ukrainian Association of Workers' Solidarity, which is a member of the World Labor Confederation and actively participates in the National Council for Social Partnership of the Ukrainian president. The document stresses that the organizers of the congress, their followers, and some deceived people must realize that by splitting the VOST, they are attempting to create a completely new organization. All those close to the VOST should understand a simple truth: VOST will never be a school for any party.

Donetsk Strikers' Union Threatens Action

WS2012105993 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] A UKRINFORM correspondent has been told by the Donetsk Strikers' Committee that a conference was held in the city attended by representatives of 15 mines of the Donetskvuhillya Production Amalgamation. Timely payment of wages to miners was the main issue discussed at the conference. There have been chaotic acts of workers' protest at the coal enterprises of the city, including Gorky, (Boychuk), Donetska, and Zhovtneva mines. The Strikers' Committee has managed to persuade the staffs to continue work and refrain from sit-in's. However, workers believe that a further delay in payments can evoke unpredicted reactions. With regard to this, the Donetsk City Strikers' Committee was charged with sending representatives to the Ukrainian Ministry of Finance in Kiev to resolve the issue. The representatives were given powers to determine the dates of strikes at the enterprises of the Donetskvuhillya. If wages and other allowances are not paid by 15 January 1994 and by the 15th day of every consecutive month, the production amalgamation will go on strike. Trade unions have been charged with resolving the issue of advance payments to the workers. The conference confirmed the validity of all the demands voiced earlier.

Kravchuk Comments on 'Competition of Ideas' in Media

WS2012110193 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Interview with President Leonid Kravchuk by an unidentified reporter in Kiev; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] As we know, the law of Ukraine on radio and television is currently being drafted by the Supreme Council. President Kravchuk has highly assessed recent informational and entertainment programs produced by Ukrainian television, saying that a step has been made from schmaltzy folk art to modernism. Speaking more in detail on the role and place of the mass media before the upcoming elections, the president, in particular, said:

[Begin Kravchuk recording] This is currently the most efficient way to reach people's minds, given the shortages of paper and the reduced circulation of newspapers. This is why I put the radio and television in first place. I believe that the decrees that have already been adopted and the draft documents concerning this issue are aimed at promoting both state and alternative television. There should be a competition of ideas and views, and a reporter should be free to choose the topic for his reports. Speaking of the electoral campaign, everyone should be granted equal rights. I support the Supreme Council's decision to discontinue live coverage of its sessions and replace them with summaries of principal events. I do not want to blame anyone in particular, but live relays could be used for advertising populist ideas and this could hardly be avoided. When people embark on the path of electoral competition, they see the electoral campaign as their only goal. To secure the observance of the Electoral Law and to grant equal rights to all the participants, I established an appropriate body in the president's administration, led by Yefimchenko. The group will be responsible for granting equal rights both at the central Ukrainian Television and in the provinces. This is very relevant. My opinion is that the mass media must be free from [word indistinct], licenses, and pressure of all kinds. It should be free to determine its policy, in accordance with the constitution, laws, and civilized norms. Unfortunately, many people lack the latter, but this disease can be overcome. This mentality has developed over decades and it cannot be changed overnight. We would like to become the most democratic nation in the world in just two years. This will not work. We need time for this and a generation of people born under democracy. Those born under democracy regard these issues differently; they accept new ideas from the cradle. My generation was born under different conditions. Then, the year 1990 suddenly came, democracy was declared, and everybody became a big democrat. Some people even began to teach others how to be democrats, hiding behind phrases, while their nature and their philosophy is based on quite different principles. However, it is not these people's fault; it is their problem. [end recording]

Official Notes Operational Problems

MK1812125093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 3

[Vladimir Skachko report under the "Ukraine" rubric with general headline "Kravchuk May Be Given Right To Pass Laws"—"'Ostankino' Will Have To Pay for Advertising"]

[Text] On 17 December Ukrainian people's deputies continued discussing a report by Nikolay Okhamekevich, president of the Ukraine State Television and Radio Company, who said earlier that Ukrainian television's operation was sometimes inadequate because it did not have an adequate logistic base and was subjected to political pressure from various directions. Many deputies appreciated Okhmakevich's statement that Ukrainian television's territory should be protected from the information expansion by "Ostankino" and Russian television programs. According to some people's deputies, Russian channels, among other things, air foreign advertisements on Ukrainian territory, without paying the Ukrainian side anything. Okhmakevich told the deputies that a recent conference of chiefs of CIS countries' national television companies drafted a collective letter to "Ostankino" chiefs demanding that they be compensated for the cost of advertisements aired on their territories. Otherwise, many deputies think that Ukraine should stop airing telecasts from Moscow, an idea that looks fairly realistic at this stage, given that the Ukrainian parliament has already adopted a decree on halting television coverage of Supreme Soviet meetings, and the Council of Ministers has ruled to reduce television air time on Ukrainian territory. In addition, Nikolay Okhamkevich told the audience that Ukrainian television chiefs were loyal to the state and on principle would never go over to the opposition. According to Okhmakevich, Ukrainian television is ready to cooperate with any candidate for people's deputy seats at the upcoming elections and will give them air time according to the law on elections.

Supreme Court Adopts Resolution on Socioeconomic Scene

LD1712202893 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1347 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Kiev—At today's morning session, the Ukrainian Supreme Council adopted a resolution "on the economic and social situation in Ukraine," the draft of which was prepared on parliament's instructions by a working group of people's deputies. Acting Ukrainian Prime Minister Yukhym Zvyahilskyy announced that the cabinet of ministers presidium disagreed with the draft resolution presented by the parliamentary working group, and put forward its own version. Following a lengthy debate on both drafts, the resolution was passed.

During the debate, the following statement was withdrawn from the resolution: The cabinet of ministers, the National Bank of Ukraine and local authorities, as the result of "irresponsibility and the low level of executive discipline, combined with the considerable expansion of the government apparatus," caused social tension to exacerbate and the people's living standards to fall. A provision was also added, in accordance with which the government, within three days, is to examine people's deputies' proposals on additional steps to stabilize the socioeconomic situation.

The working group of people's deputies also discussed a draft of the law on temporarily suspending the Supreme Council's plenary powers and delegating them to the Ukrainian president until the first session a new parliament is convened, put forward by Volodymyr Pylypchuk, the

chairman of the Supreme Council standing committee for economic reform issues. The working group recognized submitting it for consideration as inexpedient.

Deputies discussed a report by Mykola Okhmakevych, the president of the Ukrainian Television and Radio Broadcasting Company, made on 16 December. A resolution was adopted, noting in particular: "The establishment of state television and radio broadcasting as an independent and objective entity open to various political, public and cultural trends in society, which would fully ensure Ukrainian citizens' rights to information, is progressing slowly." The attention of the management of the Ukrainian Television and Radio Broadcasting Company was drawn to the need to take steps to improve its work qualitatively, create an effective mechanism for events and phenomena, as well as the whole spectrum of ideas in existence in society, to be covered objectively and truthfully, and provide equal opportunities for various parties, movements, and public associations to elucidate their positions.

It was suggested that the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers should take measures to reorganize the system of state television and radio broadcasting and the structure of the Ukrainian Television and Radio Broadcasting Company, create a special educational institution to provide comprehensive training for specialists in the field of television and radio broadcasting, ensure the required capital investments in the construction of Kiev's equipment and studio complex, as well as radio and television facilities across Ukraine's regions, allocate funds for the construction of a television and radio headquarters, settle the issue of allocating foreign currency funds for purchasing technological equipment for a new equipment and studio television complex in Kiev, and provide for international television programs.

The Supreme Council also adopted several resolutions and laws, in particular "on the state program of encouragement of foreign investments in Ukraine" and "on awarding the name Ukrayina to a missile cruiser," and ratified some international agreements and conventions.

The session will continue its work on 21 December.

Belarus

No Decision Reached on Troops for Bosnia

LD1712181793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1548 GMT 17 Dec 93

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: Reports by diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnyev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others]

[Text] The UN Secretary-General, Butrus Butrus-Ghali, has requested Belarus to send a battalion to Yugoslavia to join the peace-keeping forces there.

In an interview with INTERFAX, Valeriy Tsepkalo, foreign policy adviser to the speaker of Belarus's parliament, said that his country's legislation rules out the possibility of Belarussian servicemen's participation in military actions beyond Belarus without parliament's consent.

However, if the UN agrees to finance the presence of a Belarussian contingent in Yugoslavia, he will recommend that Stanislav Shushkevich submit this proposal for the parliament's consideration, Tsepkalo said. If the parliament agrees to meet the Secretary-General's request, the battalion in question will have to consist of volunteers, the adviser pointed out.

Foreign Minister Piotr Kravchenko described the possibility of dispatching Belarussian troops to Yugoslavia as "premature information."

"The parliament has not made a political decision on this matter yet. But even if it does, technical preparations, as well as the selection, training, equipment, etc. of troops will take a lot of time and money," he said. (end)

Kravchenko on 'Successful' Visit to Turkey

LD1712221193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1934 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Aleksandr Lyushkevich—TASS]

[Text] Minsk December 17 TASS—Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko described his recent official Turkish visit as very successful, constructive and well-prepared at a news conference at the Belarusian Foreign Ministry here today.

In his words, the visit resulted in signing of two agreements - on visa-less mutual visits of Belarusian and Turkish citizens on diplomatic and service passports and a protocol on consultations of the Belarusian and Turkish foreign ministries.

The sides presented to each other draft political agreements to be, possibly, signed by the Belarusian and Turkish presidents in mid-1994. The agreements on cultural exchange and cooperation in air communication have been prepared for signing. All in all, the states may sign ten agreements by mid-1994.

The foreign minister said Belarus is very interested in close and friendly relations with the Turkish Republic.

The official visit included a meeting of Petr Kravchenko with Turkish President Suleyman Demirel and numerous meetings with representatives of the Turkish business community.

Shushkevich Analyzes Relations With Russia

LD1712155293 Minsk Radiostantsiya Belarus International Service in Belarusian 1900 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] Analyzing the situation which has now come about in the CIS, Belarus Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislaw Shushkevich proceeds from the basis that many superstitions which arose during the decades of the previous system have still not disappeared, and he considers that all our misfortunes stem from that.

The old system is still in operation: Russia is the center, and all the remaining subjects of the CIS are the periphery. In effect, from the very beginning all the Commonwealth countries' relations come down to bilateral relations with Russia, Stanislaw Shushkevich stressed in an interview to ZVYAZDA. Russia is the real center of the CIS, and it has the most powerful economic potential. The republics are very weakly interacting among themselves. The members of the Commonwealth are not working out an overall strategy or tactics in mutual relations with Russia, and as a result many initiatives are upset. According to Stanislaw Shushkevich, there needs to be a new, improved mechanism for mutual relations within the Commonwealth.

The Belarus leader is convinced that Russia has no interest in destroying the economy of the remaining republics of the former USSR. Otherwise Russia itself would sooner or later have to eliminate the results of that, not to mention the extinguishing of hotbeds of civil war. On the contrary, Russia's primary interest should be in restoring the economy of the members of the Commonwealth.

Shushkevich Under Attack From 'Nomenklatura'

WS1712143193 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 17 Dec 93

["Excerpt" of declaration by Social Democratic Assembly Chairman Aleh Trusaw at a news conference held at the Supreme Soviet press center on 17 December—recorded]

[Text] Today's conference was prompted by the situation that developed at the Supreme Soviet session over the last couple of days. We are especially concerned with the kind of coverage this situation is receiving in the mass media. Belarusian newspapers of 15 and 16 December published the texts of reports delivered by Deputies Lukashenka and Antonchik. The reports demonstrate that all traces of corruption and embezzlements lead to local soviets and the Council of Ministers. What was the reaction of the nomenklatura? They attempted to discredit certain members of the parliamentary opposition and when the attempts failed, decided to accuse Mr. Shushkevich of corruption and embezzlements. To conceal their scheme

from the press, the nomenklatura adopted a decision to continue the session behind closed doors, after which they started to insult Shushkevich both as an individual and a people's deputy. They even used the tomb on his mother's grave as an argument. These things have nothing in common with corruption. Nevertheless, all boundaries of morality were violated at the session, the more so that taking advantage of the absence of reporters, some lawmakers reverted to phrases unacceptable by civilized people. We believe that the abrupt deterioration of Stanislav Shushkevich's health is a direct consequence of the attack launched against him.

'Attempts To Dismiss' To Continue

WS2012135793 Minsk RID in Russian 1112 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Minsk—On 17 December, representatives of the Belarusian Social Democratic Assembly [BSDH] held an extraordinary press conference, at which they briefed on their party statement regarding the latest events at the Belarusian Supreme Soviet.

As is known, on 16 December, Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich was hospitalized following one of the closed legislative hearings.

We believe that the deterioration of Shushkevich's health is directly connected with the concentrated attack launched against him by the legislature, commented on the events BSDH leader Oleg Trusov. He also predicted that attempts to dismiss Shushkevich will be continued next week. This way, deputies are trying to divert people's attention from the evidence of corruption, said Oleg Trusov.

We would like to point out that representatives of the media were not present at the hearing hall.

Popular Movement 'Indignant' Over Stance

WS1712141793 Minsk BELAPAN in Belarussian 1600 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Unattributed report: "Popular Movement Addresses Belarusian People"]

[Text] Having been provoked by a statement of Belarusian democratic organizations published in NARODNAYA GAZETA on 1 December, the Popular Movement of Belarus [PMB], uniting a range of communist, promilitary, and pro-Russian organizations, has issued an appeal to the Belarusian people. The PMB "is indignant over the adventurous political stand of certain political forces that characterize themselves as being democratic." In the PMB's opinion, the attitude of the so-called democrats to Belarusian-Russian and Belarusian-Lithuanian relations will not give Belarusian people [words indistinct] but only compromise the idea of the national revival of Belarus on its path toward integration with Russia and other CIS states.

Government To Control State Sector Workers' Pay

WS2012093793 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0400 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers has prepared and submitted for the consideration of the Supreme Soviet a draft bill On Amendments to the Legislation on Enterprises in the Republic of Belarus. The bill provides that wages of workers of state-owned enterprises be fixed by the Cabinet of Ministers, in accordance with regulations approved by the latter. This way, the government intends to curb inflation and eliminate unjustified wage increases.

Supreme Soviet Approves Minimum Wage Increase

WS1712135993 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] The 17 December session of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet began in a calm atmosphere. It was opened and conducted by First Deputy Chairman Vyacheslav Kuznetsov. After the discussion of current issues, a debate was held on increasing the minimum wage. A resolution was adopted introducing the minimum monthly wage of 30,000 rubles as of 1 January 1994. Following the adoption, lawmakers listened to a report by National Bank Chairman Stanislaw Bagdankevich on financial and credit policy of the Republic of Belarus. The session will continue on 21 December.

Commission Head Calls For Spring Election

LD1712205393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1646 GMT 17 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: Prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin, edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] Head of the national security commission Mechislav Grib has called against the dissolution of the parliament and a new general election next spring.

IF Note: This runs against a parliamentary resolution last spring to hold an election in 1994 following a compromise between the government and opposition after it collected 400,000 signatures for a referendum on trust in the deputies and the government.

In an interview with INTERFAX, Grib spoke of being supportive of the idea of radical government reform and a presidential election next February or March. He said this would bring an end to the current power struggle and lead to the rule of law. The president can act as guarantor of general elections which can be held next autumn, Grib said.

He thinks the current deadlock renders the existing laws unworkable and worsens the country's economic plight. The planned government shake up will bring no crucial change because of leaving the existing establishment intact, the parliamentary official believes.

Grib has called for a nationwide movement in favour of the presidency in Belarus, which he says is the only republic of the former Soviet Union holding back to old government structures.

IF Note: Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich is expected to unveil a draft government reform plan which he says provides for the replacement of 12 cabinet ministers, a 12 percent reduction and a 10 percent rotation of the government staff. The parliament is due to meet next week to discuss a draft new constitution and the country's future structure.

Kebich, Trade Unions Discuss Social Security

WS1712150193 Minsk CHYRVONAYA ZMENA in Belarusian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[BELINFORM report: "There Was No Duel Afterwards"]

[Text] Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich has met with representatives of the Belarusian Trade Union Federation [BTUF]. The BTUF delegation included leaders of a range of branch trade unions, and trade unions of giant industrial enterprises of Belarus. The BTUF delegation presented to the prime minister a package of proposals aimed at the strengthening of social protection of population during the transition to the market economy characterized by a critical economic situation and a climbing rate of inflation. Both parties have discussed the subject and found mutual understanding on the majority of the key issues.

In particular, Vyacheslav Kebich has resolutely defied the rumors on the alleged "freezing" of wages and salaries. On the contrary, the Belarusian Cabinet of Ministers is going to submit a proposal on a regular increase in the minimum wage—up to 30,000 rubles—beginning 1 January 1994. This figure may seem insufficient; however, a deficient state budget and the critical situation at many industrial enterprises of Belarus are factors.

Vyacheslav Kebich has also stated that income adjustments will be carried out with the aid of minimum wage increases in 1994 as well.

Economic Official Grants Interview

PM1712134293 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Dec 93 First Edition p 6

[Unattributed report under the rubric "In the Commonwealth Countries: Events, Facts, Commentaries"]

[Text]

Minsk

As far as Belarus is concerned, Russia was and remains its main partner. It accounts for almost 68 percent of total commodity turnover alone. Journalists were told this by Vladimir Radkevich, leader of the republic's foreign economic department. All the oil imported into Belarus, he stressed, is Russian. Alternative sources of oil purchase have been developed in other countries further afield but despite the accord that has been reached all these efforts have virtually come to naught because of problems with transporting and unloading the oil. As for the main directions of the republic's foreign ecoomic activity in 1994, Vladimir Radkevich noted that this activity is aimed at reviving and strengthening the CIS and creating the Economic Union, which ensures a single economic, customs, and currency space.

Polish Military Officials in Grodno, Hold Talks

WS1712150293 Minsk VO SLAVU RODINY in Russian 14 Dec 93 p 1

[Report by Colonel in Reserve G. Palchevskiy: "Polish Military Arrives in Grodno"]

[Text] On 9 December 1993, the Polish military, headed by General Julian Lewinski, commander of Warsaw military district, visited a Grodno garrison.

The Polish delegation included Colonel Stanislaw Koleba, chief of the military training sector, Colonel Krzysztof Uniec, deputy commander of rear services, and Colonel Lech Pietrzan, chief of the educational training sector.

The Polish military met with the command of the 28th Army Corps—Corps Commander Major General L. Maltsev, Colonel S. Kuznetsov, deputy commander of the educational training sector, and Colonel I. Marov, deputy chief of the military training sector.

Colonel E. Polchaninov, deputy chief of the Department for Foreign Relations within the Belarusian Defense Ministry, participated in the bilateral negotiations.

Both parties discussed forms of contact and cooperation in the border area. The participants have agreed to conduct mutual visits of units, training grounds, and training centers. In addition, the Belarusian and Polish military will carry out joint exercises by military experts. They will participate in training sessions, and develop cultural and sports contacts.

During the visit, the Polish military met with representatives of the local administration of Grodno Oblast.

Commmunist Membership Cards Lack Lenin's Image

WS2012105793 Minsk DOBRY VECHAR in Belarusian 13 Dec 93 p 1

[Unattributed and untitled report under the rubric "Capital Chronicle" and sub-rubric "In Short"]

[Text] Members of a renovated communist party—the Party of the Communists of Belarus—are being given new membership cards. Thus far, 30,000 cards have been printed. Their distinctive feature is the lack of Lenin's image. The disappearance of the leader's image, which, by the way, was introduced on the previous membership cards only in the late 1970's, has been due to the inability to reproduce it at an appropriate level of quality.

Moldova

Snegur Refutes Charges on Sentencing of Group

LD1712185393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1341 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau December 17 Tass—Moldovan President Mircea Snegur has described as absurd the allegations of the opposition, which maintains that the sentence was passed on the 'Ilascu group' after it was discussed and agreed upon with President Yeltsin in Moscow.

Previously such accusations were put forward by the leaders of the Christian Democratic Popular Front of Moldova and the Congress of Intellectuals Movement, which come out for the unification with Romania. Taking advantage of the sentence passed by the authorities of the Dniester region on their six supporters on charges of terrorism, they organised noisy rallies in Moldova, trying to regain before the parliamentary elections the popularity that they are losing.

President Snegur said that "the Moldovan leadership is using all the opportunities for saving the 'Ilascu group', and it would be very nice if the opposition forces, which are destabilising the situation in Chisinau, do not interfere with it. We even agreed to the humiliating negotiations with the Tiraspol separatist leaders, in order to save the lives of members of the 'Ilascu group'."

"I did it, not expecting that Ilascu himself will accuse me of being in collusion with the separatists. It hurts me, because the whole world knows that it is the president who spared no efforts for saving the political prisoners, while many people defended them only in word. There are documents showing who helped the families of the prisoners, from whom they received flats, who gave them money. In this situation the allegations of Ilie Ilascu's lawyer that I discussed the sentence in Moscow with President Yeltsin and got his approval sound absurd. Only a narrow-minded person can say anything like that. This is absurd, and I categorically reject such accusations," the Moldovan president stressed.

Guarantees Confirmed on $127 Million Aid Plan

LD1712143493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1413 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetski] .

[Text] Chisinau December 17 TASS—Moldova will receive a credit of 127 million dollars from the USA to support its balance of payment. Donor countries have confirmed their guarantee to provide this amount to Moldova at a conference in Washington, the republic's ministry of foreign economic relations press centre informed today.

Michael Blackwell, a representative of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Moldova, regarded receiving these credits as great success. According to estimates of IMF experts, the republic requires 155 million dollars in order to cover the balance of payment.

Among those who confirmed the largest guarantees are - European Economic Community - 51 million dollars, Japan - 40 million, the U.S. - 31.5 million, Holland - 2.5 million and Turkey - 2.5 million. Russia and Romania have also expressed readiness to provide additional financial aid to Moldova. Volumes of their contributions will be determined later as a result of researching the state of budgets of these countries.

The confirmation of guarantees by donor countries, according to Moldovan experts, will serve as a solid argument in favour of a positive solution to the problem of financing reforms in Moldova by the IMF and International Development and Reconstruction Bank.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Replaces Senior Government Officials

First Deputy Prime Minister Appointed

LD1812155993 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] By a decree of the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Kazhegeldin Akezhan Magzhan Ulu has been appointed the first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Bank, Tourism Heads Dismissed

LD1712202093 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] By a decree of the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Baynazarov Galym has been relieved of his post of the chairman of the national bank and removed from the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic. By a decree of the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Karatay Turysov has been relieved of his post of the Minister of Tourism, Physical Culture, and Sport due to a new appointment.

National Bank Chairman Nominated

LD1712185593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1453 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Ignatov]

[Text] Almaty December 17 TASS—Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev nominated Daulet Sembayev, first vice-president in charge of finances and credit-monetary policy, chairman of the Kazakh National Bank here today.

Sembayev will also remain a member of the Cabinet of Ministers.

Before the parliament self-dissolution, it was the parliament's authority to nominate the National Bank chairman. Now the parliament assigned additional powers to the president. Local observers believe this is not the last personnel change in Kazakh high places.

Tourism Minister Appointed

LD1712201193 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] By an edict of the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Aytimova Byrganym Sariyevna has been appointed minister for youth affairs, sports and tourism of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Nazarbayev Addresses Kazakh Diaspora

LD1712200093 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] A presentation of an international association of Kazakhs took place on 17 December at the Kazakh state drama theatre named after Kazakh writer Auezov. Representatives of the Kazakh diaspora from all over the world arrived in Almaty to participate in it. Kazakh President Nazarbayev, an honorary chairman of the association, addressed the participants. In two years of our independence, he said, a great number of changes and important events happened here.

One of them is the first international kurultay of Kazakhs which was held in Almaty last year. The legislative basis has been created in the Republic that will allow our compatriots, if there is a wish, to come back to their historic motherland. The international association will deal now with all the issues related to establishing contacts with our compatriots abroad. By a government's decree the international association is given the status of a state and public organization. A department of migration has been set up under the Labor Ministry. As a result, this year only 7,500 Kazakh families arrived in accordance with a quota in Kazakhstan from Turkey, Mongolia, Iran, Russia, and other countries of the Commonwealth. This process is promoted by the state policy and actions of the local authorities and is gaining momentum. Ninety percent of them have been provided with housing.

The main goal of the international association is to strengthen unity and inter-ethnic accord, which is our main asset. The Kazakh nation should set an example to other ethnic groups. The association should facilitate friendship within the Republic and throughout the world. We will achieve prosperity on this path and raise the authority of our state in the eyes of the world community.

Nazarbayev read out his statute on giving citizenship to a number of representatives of our diaspora abroad. Attending the meeting were Deputy Premier Kuanysh Sultanov and leaders of a number of ministries.

Nazarbayev Assesses National Independence

LD1812181593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0630 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Interview with President Nursultan Nazarbayev by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] In your opinion, in the conditions of sovereignty what present changes in Kazakhstan have proved viable? There were a lot of plans, of course, but what has become a reality today?

[Nazarbayev] First of all, Kazakhstan has changed. I wouldn't go far—compared with 1989 or 1990, the last years of the former Soviet Union, Kazakhstan has become a different place now. The people's mentality has changed. Social opinion polls in Kazakhstan show that the overwhelming majority of the population support the reforms, the necessity of the reforms. As for the young people, the latest poll shows that 78-80 percent of young people advocate the implementation of the reforms.

What has changed over this time? We have changed the mentality of the people and their perception of the changes that are under way. Kazakhstan lives in a condition of stability and accord thanks to our laws and constitution which proclaim the equality of all the peoples of all

nationalities and thanks to pursuing this policy in practice, in life, without cheating—people can see this and they trust the policy. Over the last few difficult years when we could see clashes in different parts of the former Soviet Union, preserving our stability and good inter-ethnic relations, and on this basis moving forward the policy of the democratization of the reforms, has been the main achievement of our policy and Kazakhstan at present.

The people of Kazakhstan have always supported our initiatives on the process of integration within the CIS framework. Unfortunately, our hopes that the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States will immediately bring together the economies and the peoples have not come true because in reality all the republics have turned out to be different. We are different, and now we have become uncoordinated, to my great regret. That is, the interests of each state are prevailing in our relations. Probably, this is natural. Probably, sovereignty and independence had to reach a certain point before we understand—and I think, it will take 10-15 years and all of us will understand what we have done. I remain convinced that sovereignty and independence are certainly nice words and are music to the ears of every people. Our ancestors were aspiring to achieve this, but sovereignty and independence are not an end in themselves. They are needed in order to improve the lives of the people. When many states in the world delegate part of their sovereignty and benefit from it and prosper as a result, this is not bad, this is good. Therefore, I think, one should adhere to the principle of prosperity and progress through unification.

A few days ago U.S. Vice President Al Gore was on a visit here, and I had long private conversations with him. He was telling me in detail that, in spite of big differences in economic development between them and countries like Canada and Mexico, they were opening the borders for unification. Perhaps, the United States was losing something because of that but in the long run it will benefit, by expanding its market. As for us, we are moving in the opposite direction.

What does our construction of a democratic society involve? We will start by democratic nationwide presidential elections. We will start by—take the media, for example. You know that dozens of independent publications have appeared not only here, in Almaty, but in all oblasts—both television [companies] and printing publications. I think nobody can mention a single case when the top echelons of power would close down any of the independent media, moreover, organize persecution of journalists. However, in every speech the government and president come under attack. I think we should get used to pluralism and to the understanding that persecution of those who think differently should be excluded from our practice. This is also an achievement in today's Kazakhstan. One could not even think of discussing the subject seven or eight years ago.

The elections to the new and professional parliament will now take place. The fact that the local soviets have been dissolved in Kazakhstan and that the Supreme Soviet has ceased its work are the realities of the present day. A professional parliament is needed to work in coordination with the government and the president, to adopt high-quality laws and carry out control over the implementation of these laws. It is such a parliament that I need as the president. Nothing else.

We have mentioned a democratic state—it means there should be executive, representative, and independent judicial authorities. These are not three powers. These are branches of state power which pursue a single policy aimed at the state's prosperity.

The next range of issues are economic problems. Foreign capital is an important condition for the democratization of any state. I don't want to sound critical of other states, but it is a fact that Kazakhstan attracts the largest investments of world capital at present.

I would like to give you the following example. The latest contract setting up a consortium on the North Caspian Sea involves such major companies as American Mobil Oil, the third largest company in the world. When I met its president he said that there had never been and there wasn't at the present time such a big consortium in the whole world. It includes—I've already mentioned Mobil Oil—Dutch Shell, British Petroleum, French Total, Agip—that is, the seven largest companies in the world. Large investments are being involved. Philip Morris, one of the largest companies, has bought a tobacco combine in Kazakhstan with its plantations. A total of 160 foreign companies have opened their offices in Almaty. We have 1,500 joint ventures in the Republic and half of them have already begun the manufacture of products. It is through these new productions that the economy of Kazakhstan is being revived.

I would like to give you the following example. Every year 10 million sheep and a million cattle are being slaughtered in the Republic. All raw hide was being sold as a raw material in the past. Now so many foreign technologies and ventures have been created to process this raw material that there are not enough of it for the manufacture of finished products even within the Republic.

I can mention here a joint venture with the South Korean company Samsung which will provide us with refrigerators and also export 100,000 of them. I would like to say that a new plant is to be commissioned at the Dzhezkazgan combine this year [to process] raw cathode copper—we will manufacture wire rod and pipes of different diameter there. A plant has been put into operation in Balkhash to manufacture enamel insulated wire for the manufacture of engines. We are developing the assembly of buses and cars, television equipment, using foreign technologies—the list of the embryonic businesses can be continued. Of course, we do not have enough time to develop everything.

The last but not least is the implementation of the second stage of agrarian reform—privatizing and taking agriculture out of state control. Starting 1 December each citizen of Kazakhstan—from the newly born to the elderly—began to receive coupons. Yet again, nobody was dividing

anyone according to nationality. The people of Kazakhstan have become owners of part of the wealth of our state by acquiring shares of enterprises for the investment coupons--those who wanted.

Am I satisfied with this progress of events? Of course, not. Like the whole of the population, I would like us to go through this stage as quickly as possible. The goal is to build a social and market economy, ensuring a targeted social protection to those who are in need. As for the rest of the people who have the capacity for work, we should give them by law the freedom of action, freedom so that they can work for themselves and be responsible for their families and their own lives, and create a liberal economy in our republic. One would like to go through this as quickly as possible and in the best possible way.

I think the reason for hard life at present is the fact that the CIS states, the republics of the former Soviet Union, still do not realize that by uniting with each other and helping each other and not by ruining our enterprises—since when one stops production, this affects all the other republics,—we should go through this with the smallest possible losses. But political selfishness, state selfishness, and the idea that on my own I will be there first are aggravating the state of affairs to my great regret.

Rules for Presidential, Parliamentary Elections Noted

LD1812214393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] The RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reports Kazakhstan published today a Code on Elections. According to the document, elections for the president, Supreme Council deputies, and deputies of local representative bodies are held simultaneously, on the basis of a universal equal and direct franchise, by secret ballot.

The president is elected for five years, and can hold office for no more than two successive terms. The president is elected under a majority system requiring an absolute majority. The Vice President is elected on the same ticket. Deputies are elected for five years, under a majority system requiring a relative majority.

Temporary Halt on Cosmodrome Launches Sought

LD1712144993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1339 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Akimov]

[Text] Almaty December 17 TASS—A large group of veteran residents of the Kazakh city of Leninsk has in an open letter appealed to President Nursultan Nazarbayev to impose a temporary moratorium on launching of carrier rockets from the space-vehicle launching site at Baykonur.

According to authors of the appeal, this step will expedite search of ways by Russia and Kazakhstan for preserving the space launching site and the city that owes its birth to it.

The letter also expresses deep concern over the fate of the Baykonur cosmodrome and the state of its infrastructure.

Kyrgyzstan

Parliament Endorses Government Restructuring

Ministries Reorganized

LD1712142693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1356 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek December 17 TASS—The parliament of Kyrgyzstan today endorsed a new structure of the Kyrgyz Government. The total number of ministries and state committees has remained the same—23. But now the government comprises 14 ministries, instead of 15, and nine state committees, instead of eight. The former Ministry for Economics and Finance, one of the most important in the republic, was split into two—the Ministry of Finance and the State Committee for Economics. This is explained by the need to pull the republic out of the crisis. The Transport Ministry is now charged with the affairs of rail, motor, and air transport services. The State Committee for Defence was reformed into a ministry.

New Ministers Appointed

LD1712174493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1538 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek, 17 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—The Kyrgyz Republic has just formed its first coalition government. Parliament has appointed new ministers and chairmen of state committees. Some of them were nominated by the country's political parties. The prime minister now has six deputy prime ministers. There are a German, a Jew, an Uzbek, and a Russian in the government. The other 20 ministers and the chairman [as received] of the state committee are Kyrgyz. The three power ministers [defense, security, interior] remain at their posts. Parliament did not approve Ednan Karabayev, a candidate proposed by the head of government, for the post of foreign minister.

The post of agricultural minister is also still vacant. New candidates to both ministries will be nominated tomorrow.

Akayev Appoints Kulov To Run Region Around Capital

LD1712211393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1646 GMT 17 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovsky, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] President Askar Akayev has appointed his former second in command Felix Kulov to administer the region around the capital.

(IF Note: Kulov resigned on December 10. The new Constitution passed in summer does not provide for the post of vice presidency.)

Numerous observers recall the "scandalous" political background against which Kulov resigned. He had played the chief role in unraveling the illegal transactions of the Tursunbek Chyngyshev government concerning the country's gold reserve. The vice president explained his resignation by the desire "to speak freely in the capacity of a deputy" in the debate on the gold reserve rather than by formal legal considerations. Kulov proposed voting on confidence in Chyngyshev, whom he accused of direct complicity in the scam with the Swiss-based Seabeco company headed by Boris Birstein.

The debates culminated in the resignation of Chyngyshev, who had headed the Kyrgyz cabinet for two years.

(IF Note: Akayev told journalists Thursday that he had advised the premier-designate Alas Jumagulov to form a multi-party government. Akayev thinks that would be "a manifestation of democracy." He also recommended that all former ministers who had emerged at the top in the list of Supreme Soviet's preferences two years ago be included in the new government.)

The president had early held consultations on nominations to the new government with leaders of eight political parties. Communist leader Jumgalbek Amanbayev had won the highest rating in parliamentary voting.

President Akayev, Regional Media Heads Attend Seminar

LD1812134193 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Excerpts] As has already been reported, a meeting took place yesterday between President Askar Akayev and regional media heads, who are attending a republican seminar. Also attending it were heads of the republican mass media of CIS and foreign journalists who are accredited in the Republic. A round table discussion in the oval hall of Government House was attended by Janysh Rustenbekov, the state secretary and the head of the presidential office, Ibraimov, Akayev's first assistant and the head of his press service, Kyrgyzstan' ambassador to the United States, and other senior officials.

Akayev spoke about the situation in the Republic, the role of the media in today's difficult life, and its weaknesses and advantages. He also spoke about pluralism of opinions, responsibility, and freedom of speech. As never before, he said, we need your help in ideological support of reforms, in strengthening and securing democratic changes. We should not ignore [the issue] of creating a multinational, interstate ideology that will unite the people of Kyrgyzstan on the basis of values that are common to all mankind.

He briefed them on his meetings with U.S. Vice President Al Gore and Brzezinski. At the same time, he noted that the republican mass media has not given adequate coverage of these two events, which are important for the life of the Republic. [passage omitted]

Askar Akayev answered questions from [participants] in the seminar. He, in particular, spoke about his recommendation to new Prime Minister Djumagulov to include in a government all those who have managed to collect more than 100 votes at the (?rating) voting, irrespective of their party or regional adherence. This will be the government of people's trust, a multiparty government, and this is good, he went on to note.

With regard to the regional division in the Republic, the president declared that he is categorically against the elimination of regions. This is a populist slogan that will only lead to chaos and loss of management [as heard]. We should decentralize power—we will not have a market economy if we do not do this. In general, consequences [words indistinct] could be catastrophic. Dispersal of power is needed for a state to be stable. The president spoke about Dzhalalabad Oblast as an example of more or less successful settlement of local social, educational, and economic problems.

Summarizing the results of the meeting, Akayev emphasized that he always favored the idea of a free press, since only through free and independent media one can exercise public control over the things that are happening in the country. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Dzhumagulov Interviewed on Economy

LD1712204393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1630 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Excerpts] The session of the Kyrgyz Supreme Soviet [Zhogorku Kenesh] is continuing its work in Bishkek. Aleksandr Myrtov, our correspondent, has the details. [passage omitted]

[Myrtov] What is the mood of Abbas Dzhumagulov, the new prime minister? This is what Abbas Dzhumagulovich had to say to this question:

[Begin Dzhumagulov recording] Unfortunately, my mood could be better. The situation with the economy is difficult. The main difficulties lie in the severing of ties with Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and other CIS countries. Serious measures are now being undertaken to re-establish our ties at oblast and enterprise levels and on the whole at the republican level. I think many issues will be discussed in Ashgabat in the very near future; that is, in December. Many issues will be simplified somewhat though there still remain very many difficulties and complications with economy development. [end recording]

[Myrtov] Then the deputies approved the composition of the cabinet of ministers. On the whole, the government is made up of previous top officials. Among the new faces who have come to the helm of power, I would like to name Dzhumgalbek Amanbayev, chairman of the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan.

Communists Seen Likely To Dominate New Government

MK1812110093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 5

[Mekhman Gafarly report under the "Kyrgyzstan" rubric: "Communists' Leader More Popular Than President. Revanchists May Get Large Number of Seats in Government"]

[Text] Local experts see the resignation of the Kyrgyz Government as a victory for the left-wing forces allied to the Republic's Communist Party. Observers think that the radical economic reforms in Kyrgyzstan are now being adjusted. President Askar Akayev has given his consent to the forming of a coalition government, having decided "to balance out in the government the reformist wing and those who have experience of organizational work." It is not ruled out that under this pretext, the new government will be composed mainly of former high-ranking party officials whose rating in the Republic is rapidly growing every day. Zhumgalbek Amanbayev, leader of Kyrgyzstan's Communist Party, is today the most popular political figure in the Republic, even ahead of President A. Akayev.

A new Kyrgyz government to be formed by Prime Minister Apas Dzhumagulov will be a coalition government. As suggested by Mr. Akayev, represented in it will be various political forces, and primarily Kyrgyzstan's eight political parties. The Communist Party is likely to win a majority because the communists' position in parliament is sufficiently strong. This was borne out also by the recent voting in parliament on the question of forming a new government, when Kyrgyz communist leader Zh. Amanbayev won more votes than anyone else. Besides, the Communist Party enjoys support from many political forces, which clearly plays into Kyrgyz revanchists' hands.

The situation is also being made worse by the fact that in dissolving a government committed to reforms, Mr. Akayev spoke for the creation of a government trusted by the people, which speaks well for the revanchists. It is not ruled out that when the economic "shock therapy" being performed by the present radical reformers brings no quick results, President Akayev will have to retreat from the course of economic reforms.

Tajikistan

Afghanistan's Rabbani, Delegation Arrive For Talks

Makes Arrival Statement

LD1912090593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0809 GMT 19 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 19 Dec—Professor Borhanoddin Rabbani, president of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, arrived today in Dushanbe. He is paying an official visit to Tajikistan. Imamali Rakhmanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan, and other leaders of the Republic met the honored guest in the airport.

The Afghan leader made a statement near the plane's gangway. He said that he attaches great importance to the further strengthening of the fraternal friendly relations between the Afghan and Tajik people, who have common historic and cultural roots.

He noted that they are planning to sign several important documents during the visit—above all, an agreement on the principles of intergovernmental relations. Touching upon the problem of Tajik refugees, tens of thousands of whom are still in Afghanistan, the president said that his country will do everything possible to help the Tajik leadership to return repatriates to their native land. He also said that he hopes that civil peace and national accord will be established in Tajikistan and that a civilized political settlement will be found to the problems they are now facing.

Welcomed by Rakhmanov

LD2012122893 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 0800 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Imamali Rakhmanov, the head of state and chairman of the Supreme Council of Tajikistan, had a private talk with Afghan President Borhanoddin Rabbani straight after his arrival at government headquarters yesterday. Later, negotiations between the official delegations of Afghanistan and Tajikistan took place.

Welcoming the distinguished guest, Rakhmanov expressed the hope that Rabbani's visit will open a new chapter in the development of relations between the two neighboring states. Tajikistan and Afghanistan have had friendly relations since ancient times and have always helped each other during times of difficulty and are happy with each others' success. We, the heirs of our ancestors, have the right to develop these good traditions together. Nowadays, the leadership of the Republic, as well as the people of Tajikistan are for developing cooperation and friendly relations with our Afghan brothers.

Head of state Rakhmanov said that unfortunately, so far in Tajikistan as well in Afghanistan, there were forces that were trying by all means to hamper relations between the two neighboring states in order to achieve their evil aims and that these forces were accusing the legitimate government of Tajikistan of allegedly being a Communist government and violating the rights of Muslims; they were also trying to blacken the legitimate government of Tajikistan in front of the Islamic countries and the Muslim people of the world.

Fortunately, at present, the noble Muslim people have realized this groundless claim and do not believe this. One of the important issues that exists between our countries, added Rakhmanov, is the issue related to repatriation of the Tajik refugees and stabilization of the situation on the border; we are ready to use all necessary political measures pertaining to repatriating our compatriots. In conclusion,

Rakhmanov wished success to the official visit to Tajikistan by the Afghan president.

Afghan President Rabbani, expressing his gratitude for the warm and sincere welcome, said that relations between the two states and the two peoples would develop since they had a common culture, belief, and border. We are for the unity and development of our nation, and in order to achieve this we do not refuse any kind of measures, said the distinguished guest. Speaking about the issue related to repatriation of the Tajik refugees, he expressed the view that the refugees were sincerely welcomed in Afghanistan, and the Afghan side will render assistance in their repatriation. Rabbani expressed the hope that this issue would find its solution after the forthcoming negotiations.

Rakhmanov familiarized the distinguished Afghan guests with the program of the visit and said that scholars, writers, poets, and all people of the Republic were looking forward to meeting them.

President Rabbani has started a tour of towns in the country. He and those accompanying him on his visit left for Kulyab this morning. They will travel to the town of Khujand after going on a sightseeing tour of Kulyab. Rakhmanov and other officials are accompanying the distinguished Afghan guest.

Foreign Ministers Discuss Border

LD2012134393 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] Talks between the foreign ministers of Tajikistan and Afghanistan took place in unusual circumstances this time. Afghan Foreign Minister Hedayat Amin Arsala, who has arrived in Tajikistan with an official delegation led by President Borhanoddin Rabbani, deemed it necessary to visit Tajikistan's Foreign Minister Rashid Olimov in the hospital where the latter is receiving treatment.

The foreign ministers of the two countries discussed the prospects of bilateral cooperation between the two states and their foreign ministries, ways of settling the refugee issues, and measures for the speedy repatriation of refugees. Mutual understanding was achieved on the issue of the situation along the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan. Both ministers agreed on the need to stabilize the situation along the border between the two countries, which will assist the development of (?trade) relations between the [word indistinct], the establishment of direct relations between local governments and the population on both sides of the Panj and Amu rivers.

Rashid Olimov stressed that the visit by Professor Borhanoddin Rabbani will help to strengthen friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries and will make the solution of several issues possible. Hedayat Amin Arsala expressed hope that the talks between Afghanistan and Tajikistan will have positive results.

At the end of the meeting Hedayat Amin Arsala wished his Tajik counterpart speedy recovery.

Rakhmanov, Rabbani Issue Statements

LD1912164893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1610 GMT 19 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 19 Dec—This morning Imamali Rakhmanov, the head of Tajikistan and chairman of the Republic's Supreme Council, and Professor Borhanoddin Rabbani, the president of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, held talks. The Afghan leader is heading an official state government delegation which during its visit plans to sign a number of documents covering a broad range of political, trade-economic, cultural cooperation, and other aspects of interstate relations.

The Tajik and Afghan leaders made short statements for local and foreign journalists on the results of their first summit meeting which was a tete-a-tete.

Inter alia Imamali Rakhmanov said that Tajikistan is in favor of establishing very close all-round relations with Afghanistan and the peaceful solution of existing problems, including stabilization of the Tajik-Afghan border and the quickest possible return of Tajik refugees to their homeland, thousands of whom are in Afghanistan as a result of the civil war.

"I told Prof. Rabbani that the Tajik Government is prepared to use all political mechanisms to ensure a speedy return of the refugees. This is our firm stand." In his words, the Afghan president has shown complete understanding in this matter. The same understanding, Imamali Rakhmanov noted, was shown when the two sides discussed the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border, the need to stabilize the situation, and to turn the border into a border of friendship and peace.

The Afghan leader described his visit to Tajikistan as "a solid stone in strengthening our friendship." He also advocates extending the frontiers of friendship and equal cooperation between the two countries. Turning to the issue of Tajik refugees again, Prof. Rabbani described it as a "solvable problem," and said that his country's government will render all possible assistance in their return to their home country. He also supported Rakhmanov's idea to open additional checkpoints for repatriates' organized crossing from the border provinces of Afghanistan into Tajikistan under UN supervision.

Abdullojonov Discusses Economics With U.S. Envoy

LD1912093593 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 0100 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] Yesterday Abdulmalik Abdullodzhanov, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Tajikistan, met Stanley Escudero, the U.S. ambassador to Tajikistan. During the talks, the head of the Government of Tajikistan, speaking on the economic situation in the country, stressed that the Republic and the people of Tajikistan are living through a difficult and complex period. As a result of the events well known to everyone,

particularly the breakdown of economic ties with the independent states, the economy of Tajikistan entered a serious economic crises.

The Government of Tajikistan, therefore, through [words indistinct] and new methods of work is foremost, striving to revive all the damaged and [word indistinct] industrial enterprises and start the recovery of the national economy. Under the current conditions the Republic of Tajikistan cannot get out of this economic crises without the cooperation of foreign countries. The first joint enterprises formed with U.S. businessmen on the territory of Tajikistan prove that there are major possibilities for all-round mutual cooperation through state and private means.

Stanley Escudero, expressed gratitude for the sincere talks and expressed his preparedness to work toward the strengthening of economic ties between the United States and Tajikistan.

Resigns From Council of Ministers

LD1912062693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0529 GMT 19 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 19 Dec— Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov, the chairman of Tajikistan's Council of Ministers, submitted his resignation on the evening of 18 December. ITAR-TASS learned today from reliable sources that he made his resignation statement at a joint extraordinary sitting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Republic, which accepted his resignation.

According to the source, it was proposed that Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov take the post of Tajikistan's ambassador to Russia and carry out the duties of deputy chairman of Tajikistan's Council of Ministers. The motives behind the decision to resign are unknown. However, some observers believe that it was prompted by recent sharp attacks on the government and its head, blaming them for the grave economic crisis and corruption in top echelons of power.

Acting Chairman Named

LD1912144893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1340 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] Chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers, Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov was discharged by the Supreme Soviet's presidium on Saturday. According to Tajik television, Deputy Chairman of the parliament Abdujalil Samadov will be the acting prime minister.

According to Interfax, Abdullodzhanov will be appointed the Tajik Ambassador to Russia. Earlier, there was only the Tajik plenipotentiary representative to Russia.

The Tajik authorities do not announce the reason for the premier's resignation.

Full Diplomatic Relations To Be Established With Iraq

PM1712135593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Dec 93 First Edition p 6

[Unattributed report under the rubric "In the Commonwealth Countries: Events, Facts, Commentaries"]

[Text]

Dushanbe

Tajikistan and Iraq have adopted a decision on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries at embassy level.

Reasons Reviewed

MK1812130093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Dec 93 p 3

[Oleg Panfilov report under the "Tajikistan" rubric: "Dushanbe Establishes Diplomatic Ties With Baghdad, To Its Neighbors' Chagrin"]

[Text] BBC has reported a Radio Baghdad report quoting the Iraqi news agency as saying that Tajikistan and Iraq have established diplomatic ties. On 8 December it was announced in Baghdad that the two countries' Foreign Ministries exchanged memorandums on the subject. The Iraqi Foreign Ministry expressed its satisfaction with the establishment of diplomatic relations, which, the ministry said, "will contribute to the furtherance of friendship between the peoples of Iraq and Tajikistan." Besides, an agreement was reached on opening embassies in Dushanbe and Baghdad respectively.

It is known, however, that this development has not been made public in Tajikistan, nor has the ITAR-TASS correspondent in Dushanbe reported on the establishment of diplomatic ties. Nonetheless, diplomatic contacts with a country remaining in a state of "cold war" with Iran may significantly affect Dushanbe's relations with Tehran, and also with other countries that opposed the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait.

Iraq had attempted to establish at least any relations back last year when President Rakhmon Nabiyev was in power. After his visit to Kazakhstan, the Iraqi oil minister planned to visit Dushanbe, but Foreign Ministry chiefs dissuaded Nabiyev from meeting with him officially. At the same time, the NOVOSTI TADZHIKISTANA [TAJIKISTAN NEWS] independent news agency prepared an article on the Nabiyev administration's clandestine attempts to sell roughly enriched uranium to a number of Mideast countries, including Iraq. The article, which was published by NARODNAYA GAZETA [PEOPLE'S GAZETTE], drew a harsh reaction from both Nabiyev and the then Supreme Soviet chairman, Safarali Kendzhayev, who saw it as a provocation. The newspaper's chief editor retained his post only thanks to efforts by the Supreme Soviet democratic faction, and a lawsuit brought by the Tajikistan prosecutor's office has never been carried to the end.

Otakhon Latifi, chairman of the Coordinating Center of Democratic Forces of Tajikistan in the CIS, sees a secret ploy behind the establishment of relations between Dushanbe and Baghdad. He thinks that so notorious a figure in the Arab world as Saddam Husayn is already eliciting mixed feelings, and that diplomatic contact with him may prompt a confrontation between the Tajikistan authorities and Muslim countries. Maybe this is precisely what Dushanbe is looking for, although it may lead to the most unpredictable consequences. Apparently, there is another problem related to this decision—Tajikistan's search for suppliers of energy resources. It cannot be ruled out that the Russian side is also interested in the deal as it places the inconvenient Republic as a buffer between Iran and other Arab countries, primarily Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, on one hand, and the Iraqi regime, which has been actively trying to befriend former Soviet republics, on the other. In the current situation, this is unlikely to help resolve internal problems, as a visit by a Cuban Government delegation some time ago did nothing to settle them. Nonetheless, the Tajikistan authorities continue to tread the world scene, establishing relations with countries sympathizing with Dushanbe's struggle against anti-communists.

Rakhmanov Addresses Writers' Union

LD1712234293 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1610 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, as you know, on the occasion of the forthcoming 18th session of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet, government leaders are holding meetings with workers of enterprises and associations, collective and state farms aimed at getting closer to the people, knowing their views and opinions regarding the work of the government and the state, and bringing Tajikistan out of crisis. One such meeting was held today in the writers' building named after Mirzo Tursunzoda in which Imamali Rakhmanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan, exchanged views with literary and art figures. We now draw your attention to the proceedings of this meeting: [passage omitted]

[Begin Rahmonov recording] Dear friends, we are aware to some extent of the situation during this transition period which has arisen in the creative collectives and organizations. This is a reflection of the difficulties which exist in all spheres of the Republic's political and economic life. Everyone of you knows of these difficulties and feels them every day. As you all know, our top priorities during the year that is just ending were to end the senseless war of fratricide as soon as possible, to restore a tranquil life to the people, and to restore the ruins of the civil war, the repatriation of refugees, and the reinforcement of the border and national army.

The senseless fratricidal war ruined our Republic from the economic point of view, stopped and reversed its development, and divided our united people into groups. Hundreds of young people lost their lives, the homes and livelihoods of thousands of poor workers were destroyed. Thousands of Russian speaking people left the Republic. The damage done to our moral is impossible to estimate.

Today, on the eve of the regular session of the Supreme Soviet, I can say that although the people's living standards might not have improved, although great economic difficulties might face us, we have carried out our top priority duty to end the fratricidal war, preserving the integrity of the beloved homeland, and ensuring peace and tranquillity to the citizens. In this difficult path which we have chosen, which is to build a democratic, law-governed, and secular state, all the people have supported us and today we together give thanks that our persecuted people in all corners of the Republic can breathe freely in all corners of the Republic and are living in tranquillity.

Regretfully, parallel to our successes, serious shortcomings also exist in our past and present activities. Although most of these might have known objective causes, the shortcomings arising from our subjective activities [words indistinct] are not less. Speaking about existing shortcomings, I am fully confident that you, the people's intellectuals, and the nation will take your worthy role in eliminating them as soon as possible.

A comprehensive understanding of the present situation and the urgent measures to bring the country out of this situation will be fully discussed in the forthcoming session of the Supreme Soviet.

The present economic situation is best described by the high speed of the devaluation of our money, the result of which is being felt by everyone of us in our daily lives. The elimination of the single economic system caused stoppages in most of the Republic's industrial enterprises. At present more than 300 enterprises are in a bankruptcy situation. The country's national debt, taking into account the technical loans given by the CIS and foreign countries, accounts for more than $360 million. The arising situation caused unparallelled damage to the Republic's agriculture.

Last year, as a result of the war, the agricultural harvests were not collected. As a result of natural disasters agricultural products were destroyed on nearly 100,000 hectares of land. However, despite all these difficulties, so far in the Republic more than 516,000 [metric] tonnes of cotton have been collected, which shows an increase of 180,000 tonnes compared to last year. Regardless of all shortcomings, the farmers are making efforts to make sure that every citizen will have something to eat.

Speaking about economic difficulties, I should stress that our Republic possesses huge resources in Central Asia. If we fully mobilize the efforts made by our labor-loving people with the present material and natural resources of the country, we will be able to totally change the economic situation in the Republic in the next three to four years. [passage omitted] That which depended on the government and state leadership has been done. From the first days since the restoration of the legitimate government we have established a special government commission to hold talks with the representatives of refugees and with the Afghan authorities. As a result of the activities of this

commission, the majority of the refugees have returned to their permanent places of residence. The issues of refugees and the normalization of the situation on the borders were the subject of comprehensive discussions between us and the president of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, Professor Borhanoddin Rabbani, during my official visit to Afghanistan.

Later, Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Kozidavlat Koemdodov had meetings in Geneva with Agha Khan IV, leader of the world Isma'ilis, with the aim of normalizing the situation in Badakhshan. Similarly, meetings are being held with Safarov and Muhabbatov, leaders of the Tajiks organization in Moscow called Sughdian. An organization called Hope [Umed] was established in Moscow to work with the compatriots whose leader was initially Otakhon Latifi and now the People's Deputy of Tajikistan Habib Sanginov. Talks and meetings are continuing with them.

At present talks are continuing with the leaders of various organizations and groups aimed at returning all the refugees home and ensuring political unity in our Republic. Such talks are also being held with international organizations whose representatives are in the capital of our Republic.

I would like to say that in order to achieve unity among our people and to ensure peace in our country we are (?ready) to hold negotiations with all interested parties. Of course, we hope that they will have the (?desired) results.

During the year that is just ending, significant changes have taken place in our foreign policy. For the first time in the history of the new Tajikistan, the head of the Republic of Tajikistan has made a speech from the rostrum of the United Nations, telling the world public not only about hot and urgent problems facing the Republic but also issues concerning ensuring peace and security in the region, making specific proposals. It should be stated without any exaggeration that the participation of our delegation in the 48th Session of the UN General Assembly and our broad and fruitful meetings with the heads of states of various countries and with the leaders and officials of the United Nations Organization in New York have played an important role in enhancing Tajikistan's prestige and respect in the international arena and the consolidation of its position in the world.

In my speech at the 17th session of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet, I said that in view of its geopolitical position and economic resources, Tajikistan has an interest in and is obliged to pursue a balanced and pragmatic policy which should be devoid of unilateral following. [sentence as heard] We will not spare any effort in developing our relations with the countries of Europe, America, and others and also developing and deepening our long-standing traditional relations with Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, China, and India.

On the eve of the meeting between the leaders of Tajikistan and Afghanistan, I wanted to note one thing with pleasure: that our policy toward a speedy stabilization of the situation along our border with Afghanistan and the repatriation of the refugees from the territory of Afghanistan is well received by the leadership of the Islamic State of Afghanistan and by His Excellency Professor Borhanoddin Rabbani personally. I am fully confident that our joint efforts will bear good results which will be in the interests of the peoples of these two fraternal countries.

I hope that the common border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan will in the near future transform into a border of friendship and fraternity, good neighborliness, and cooperation which is beneficial to both countries.

It should also be remembered that the political and economic situation in our republic is closely dependent on the situation in the CIS and other neighboring countries. Foremost, the political and social trends which are taking place in the Russian Federation cannot but affect the situation in our country. For example, the new constitution adopted in Russia as a result of the national referendum will help good relations and mutually beneficial cooperation between our states. It is obvious that without friendly relations and close cooperation which expresses sovereign interests of each of our states it would be difficult to overcome the economic and social crisis. Primarily, we attached great importance to the development of all-round relations with the Russian Federation, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Belarus, and other countries with whom we have signed agreements of friendship and cooperation.

Our Republic, like other countries of the former Soviet Union, irrespective of great difficulties, has taken initial steps toward a market economy. In the current year joint enterprises have been established with companies from the United States, Turkey, Bulgaria, and other countries of Europe and Asia. Foreign entrepreneurs are ready to invest in the economy of Tajikistan. However, for foreign investors to have full confidence, first the political situation in our Republic should become stable. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Tajik 'Militants' Neutralized in Shuroabadskiy

LD1812105193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0930 GMT 18 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 18 Dec—According to military sources information, a large military operation to neutralize a large group of Tajik opposition militants and Afghan Mojahedin who had infiltrated into the Shuroabadskiy border rayon of Tajikistan over two months ago was completed here on 17 December. Taking part in the operation were government troops, subunits, and Russian border guards. In the course of the military clashes dozens of militants were killed.

Military sources are not ruling out that the operational situation in individual sections of the Pyandzhskiy and Moskovskiy rayons in the Republic's south could become more complicated. In this connection, the Russian border

guards and subunits of Tajikistan's National Security Committee have taken a number of additional measures to strengthen border defense.

Official, Afghan General Discuss Return of Refugees

LD1712221093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1932 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe December 17 TASS—Head of a Tajik parliamentary group for refugee affairs, Takhir Akhmedov, met with the commander of the 54th division of the Afghan Defense Ministry, General Amir Chugai, in the Afghan port of Sherhan in the Kunduz Province on Thursday. General Chugai controls a territory where one of the biggest camps of Tajik refugees in Afghanistan is located.

The Tajik side expressed serious concern over the slowing process of the return of Tajik refugees to native places and pointed out that according to the information at its disposal militants of the Tajik opposition currently staying in this province had blocked the Kunduz-Shirhan road and had been holding up Tajik refugees on the Afghan territory by force.

For his part, the Afghan general described these facts as not groundless. He admitted that some incidents had taken place and assured that he would take additional measures to ensure the unimpeded return of Tajik refugees home. Both sides expressed the readiness to cooperate in this matter.

It was pointed out that the problem of speeding up the return of refugees home would be on the agenda of the talks at a forthcoming Tajik-Afghan summit. A delegation of Afghan high-ranking officials led by President Burhanoddin Rabbani is expected to arrive in Dushanbe on December 9 for talks with Tajik leaders.

Turkmenistan

Government, Russia Agree on Border Protection Rules

LD1712172793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1448 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Text] Ashgabat, 17 Dec—The talks that began yesterday between Turkmenistan President Saparmurat Niyazov and Andrey Nikolayev, commander of the Russian border troops, ended today with agreement on all the items of the draft agreement on interaction between Turkmenistan's and Russia's border troops. As one of the main political documents, the agreement will be put forward for ratification by the heads of state during a visit to Turkmenistan by Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

In a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Andrey Nikolayev said he believes the draft agreement is a document that regulates the principles of border protection on a bilateral basis between the CIS member-states. Apart from strategic interests, Russia sees in this agreement a concrete opportunity to preserve its interests, in particular, those relating to financing. "We will know precisely where Russia is investing money and why," Andrey Nikolayev said.

Armenia

Nagorno-Karabakh's Baburyan Writes to UN

NC1712194493 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Karen Baburyan, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Supreme Soviet, sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali yesterday. Baburyan's letter says that, regardless of the fact that Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh] is prepared to join the peace process, Azerbaijan has avoided the mediation effort and moved to increase its military hardware. It also says that the military hardware Azerbaijan has acquired exceeds the established limits. The letter stresses the following:

According to the agreement on conventional arms, Azerbaijan has been allowed to have 220 tanks, 270 [word indistinct], and 285 artillery pieces. However, the figures disclosed by the Azerbaijan Ministry of Defense indicate that Azerbaijan acquired 236 tanks, 642 military vehicles, and 345 artillery pieces in 1992. Azerbaijan acquired an additional 70 military vehicles and 42 artillery units in May 1993. That republic purchased 50 tanks from Ukraine in September 1993.

Baburyan stresses that Azerbaijan is preparing for an extensive attack on the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. The war hysteria in Azerbaijan confirms that republic's intentions. Concluding, Baburyan urges Butrus-Ghali to use his influence to obstruct the broadening of military operations in the region.

Yerevan Reports Tension, Shooting on Front

NC1712193293 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, we now present a report on the latest incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Tension has escalated along NKR's front lines again. Azerbaijan's local units attacked the NKR defense positions once again on the night of 15 December. The attack was supported by tanks and artillery units. However, the enemy's efforts to penetrate the Armenian defenses failed. Both sides suffered casualties and lost military hardware. The combat operations in the southeastern part of the front line were halted on the same night.

The NKR military intelligence network has established that Afghan fighters actively participated in Azerbaijan's onslaught. The number of Afghan fighters, who have been killed or wounded, is not small. That has proved once again that the Azerbaijan military command widely uses military personnel from various countries in its aggression against Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh]. That is an indication that Azerbaijan's leaders have not relinquished their wish to internationalize the dispute. [passage omitted]

The Artsakh people have established their independent state, the NKR. Undoubtedly, it will be recognized by the foreign countries and international organizations sooner or later. [passage omitted]

As a rule, Azerbaijan's mass media organs have continued to distort the incidents and facts on the dispute and blame the Armenian side for everything.

Meanwhile, the latest reports we have received from NKR's front lines said that Azerbaijan's military units in Adzhabedinskiy Rayon shelled several border settlements and Armenian defense positions in Martuninskiy Rayon with artillery units yesterday. Several people have been wounded and there has been damage to the settlements. However, Azerbaijan's mass media organs have reported that Armenian military units supported by nine tanks and three infantry vehicles launched a wide-scale attack on Beynaganskiy Rayon. The Armenian sources have denied that report. [passage omitted]

Obviously, the situation along NKR's front lines is tense. Azerbaijan's leaders and reactionary forces are using the confrontation to remain in power. In fact, they are destroying the peoples of the two sides.

The situation on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan has significantly worsened during the past few days. Armenia's border areas have been fired on from Kazakhskiy Rayon and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic with various types of arms. However, the Armenian side has remained committed to its decision to observe a unilateral cease-fire. The Armenian forces have not returned the fire. The Armenian Ministry of Defense Press Service has disclosed that a serious incident has not occurred on Armenia's border during the past two days. Predicting how long that state of affairs will continue is difficult because Azerbaijan always makes the first move.

'Temporary' Cease-Fire Reported

NC1812205393 Yerevan SNARK in English 1255 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] Stepanakert, December 18 (SNARK)—Russia's sponsored Azerbaijani-Karabakh temporary cease-fire has been achieved, the trustworthy sources in Stepanakert informed SNARK. The agreement expiration date is December 26.

Meanwhile, according to the Headquarters of the Karabakh Defense Army, for last several days there exists relative quietness.

Azerbaijan Allegedly Breaking Cease-Fire

NC1912183293 Yerevan SNARK in English 1426 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] Stepanakert, December 19 (SNARK)—Azerbaijan has breached the armistice signed between Baku and Stepanakert on December 16 with the intermediary of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

According to reports, received by SNARK from the Karabakh Defence Army, on Sunday's night the Azerbaijani

troops took the offensive on the east of the Martuninskiy region after tough artillery preparation. By the morning of December 19 Karabakh army could repulse this attack. However, at the afternoon Azeris continued their offensive actions using tanks, armoured cars and a great deal of soldiers. As of 2 p.m., fightings are going on here.

Nagorno-Karabakh Denies Azerbaijani Battle Claims

NC1812210493 Yerevan SNARK in English 1255 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] Stepanakert, December 18 (SNARK)—Azerbaijani mass media's statements relating bloody battles in the Beilagan region in Azerbaijan do not correspond to reality, Karabakh Press and Information Department has spoken out today with the above announcement.

The announcement emphasizes, in particular, that from December 1 to 15 this year there were just positional battles in the south- eastern part of the front and those battles didn't actually affect on the military situation in the zone of military actions.

Karabakh Press and Information Department is of the opinion, that such propaganda coming from Baku is directly connected with the Baku's intentions to let the world community be aware of the "aggressive Armenian side" and mislead the world community's opinion.

Ter-Petrosyan Views Socioeconomic Situation

LD1712130893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1119 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Addressing a closed-door session of Armenia's parliament on Thursday, President Levon Ter-Petrosyan described the socio-economic situation in the country as being tough.

As Interfax learned from his press secretary, Aram Abramiyan, the president evaluated the work done by the government as rather positive. According to him, in the past few months the cabinet "managed to increase the volume of industrial production."

Earlier, during debates on the socio-economic situation in Armenia, some deputies suggested that the president carry out a reshuffling of the government due to unsatisfactory performance.

According to Abramiyan, in his report, Ter-Petrosiyan strongly criticized the performance of Armenia's judiciary, prosecuting authorities and Justice Ministry.

Gas Supply Halted; Georgian Diversion Suspected

NC1912183593 Yerevan SNARK in English 1426 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] Yerevan, December 19 (SNARK)—Gas supply is broken in Armenia. As SNARK was informed from the Armenian Gas Department, night of December 19 pressure of gas, that is the basic fuel arriving in Armenia, suddenly dropped in the gas pipe-line, going through Georgia. The supposed reason is a diversion in Georgia.

Azerbaijan

Aliyev Departs for France, Comments on Hopes for Visit

LD1912150093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1345 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] A state delegation from the Republic of Azerbaijan led by President Geydar Aliyev flew to France today on an official visit. Islam Kuliyev our correspondent in the republic, reports.

[Kuliyev] This visit is interesting because up until now Azerbaijan has viewed France as a state where there are very strong pro-Armenian sentiments because of the numerous members of the Armenian Diaspora; this aspect must not be ignored. It will undoubtedly play an important role in the future as well. But the very fact that France is ready to sign a Treaty on Friendship with Azerbaijan at state level shows, that while there may not be a change with regard to the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, there is at least greater understanding of the essence [of the conflict], its reasons and consequences.

This is what Geydar Aliyev, the president of Azerbaijan, told me before boarding his plane.

[Begin Aliyev recording] I hope that this visit will create good conditions for developing multilateral relations between Azerbaijan and France, and that Azerbaijan will definitely be seen in a worthy light, by both France and all of Europe. We are planning to sign a Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between France and Azerbaijan there; this document will be signed by Francois Mitterrand, the president of France, and myself. There will also be several other documents and meetings. I hope that all of this will be of benefit to Azerbaijan above all, and to France as well, because France, being one of the world's major countries, has interests in all regions, including in the Caucasus region. [end recording]

Friendship Treaty Signed

LD2012130493 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 20 Dec 93

[Text] President Geydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan, now in France on an official visit, today signed the treaty of friendship and cooperation with the French President Francois Mitterrand. At Azerbaijan's request, the document makes special provisions that the two countries recognize each other in the existing borders.

During the visit Mr. Aliyev will also sign the Paris Charter of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, dated 1990. Its signatories commit to follow democratic principles and respect human rights.

Aliyev Meets With German Bundestag Member

NC1712184293 Baku AZERTAC in English 1656 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Baku, December 17 (AZERTAC)—We do not think that problems of the Caucasus do not concern us, and I

hope that the CSCE will discuss the problem of Azeri refugees, who have been driven out by the Armenian armed forces from the Fizoulinskiy, Dzhabrayilskiy, Lachinskiy, Kalbadzharskiy and Agdamskiy Districts, Mr. Willi Wiemmer, the member of the Bundestag, the head of the parliament Commission on Caucasus and the German mission to the CSCE, said today at his meeting with the Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev. As for his yesterday's visit to the Imishlinskiy District, where 120 thousand refugees are living in encampments, W. Wiemmer said that state of these people was real tragedy.

'Separatist Movement' Leader Arrested

PM1712133793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Dec 93 First Edition p 6

[Unattributed report under rubric "In the Commonwealth Countries: Events, Facts, Commentaries" rubric]

[Text] Baku—Separatist movement leader Alikram Gumbatov has been arrested in the Azerbaijani city of Lenkoran. In summer this year Gumbatov proclaimed the independent Talysh-Mugan Republic in the south of the country but fled with a group of sympathizers when the coup failed. It is reported from Baku that since then Gumbatov had been hiding in nearby Lenkoran forest.

INTERFAX Reports Arrest of Popular Front Members

LD1912181093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] According to INTERFAX, several members of Azerbaijan's Popular Front were arrested as they were leaving the Front's Central headquarters. They include two members of staff of the organization's newspaper JUMHURIET, and a deputy of the Baku Council.

The reasons for the arrests are thus far unknown.

Update on Renewed Fighting in Region

Armenian Attack Rebuffed

NC1612155293 Baku Radio Baku International Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 16 Dec 93

[Text] The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry has revealed that the Armenian Armed Forces launched a strong attack in Beynaganskiy Rayon again. Azerbaijan's military units resisted, rebuffing the onslaught and forcing the enemy to retreat after losing many men and armored vehicles.

Defense Ministry Issues Statement

NC1712174193 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 16 Dec 93

["Text" of Defense Ministry statement issued on 16 December—read by announcer]

[Text] The Armenian side, which is trying to disrupt the negotiations process once again, launched an attack against Beynaganskiy Rayon at 1120 on 15 December. Our fighters repelled the onslaught, which was supported by nine tanks and three large infantry fighting vehicles, at about 1300. The enemy side regrouped and renewed its attack at 1400, but the advancing units were forced to retreat. The Armenians lost four tanks and 50 men in the fighting in that region and were forced to retreat to their original positions. Our fighters captured two enemy tanks. The situation in Beynaganskiy Rayon was restored to the pre-attack line by 1800 on that day.

The enemy intensely shelled Beynaganskiy Rayon with Grad rockets and artillery units on 16 December.

In general, the Armenian military units have lost 19 armored vehicles and more than 200 officers and men during the past few days. Azerbaijan also suffered some casualties.

Developments indicate that the Azerbaijani leaders' initiative to peacefully resolve the dispute remains unreciprocated. The Armenian military forces' attack threatens the citizens of Beynaganskiy and Adzhabedinskiy Rayons and the more than 100,000 refugees in the two regions.

Armenia's latest military action has disrupted the resumed efforts to peacefully resolve the dispute. Obviously, that indicates that Armenia wishes to use force to resolve the dispute in order to occupy more areas in Azerbaijan, so it will bear full responsibility for the outcome of its occupationist policy.

Attacks in Nagorno-Karabakh Reported

LD1712091893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0500 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Contradictory reports are continuing to come in from the Karabakh front. Yesterday the Armenian side carried out intensive shelling of the town of Beilagan from a Grad missile installation and with artillery. During the fighting from 10 to 16 December the Armenian side lost more than 100 people killed and nine pieces of armored equipment.

In Yerevan they report that settlements in the Martuni rayon of the Nagorno-Karabakh republic, as well as the defensive positions of the Karabakh self-defense forces, were subjected to concentrated missile and artillery bombardment by Azerbaijan on Thursday. There are casualties. Houses have been destroyed.

Reports of Offensive Denied

LD1712223893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2129 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Azerbaijani reports of their repelling Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians' large-scale offensive in the Beilagan district of Azerbaijan and their huge losses of hardware and personnel do not reflect reality, according to a statement of the press office of the self-proclaimed Nagorno-Karabakh republic published in Stepanakert today.

Referring to information of the Nagorno-Karabakh Defense Forces HQ, the office said the mild clashes in the south west section of the front line from December 11 to 15 virtually did not change the layout of forces. "The

information of the Nagorno-Karabakh forces' losses cited by the Azerbaijani side have no grounds and multiply the real figures," the statement said.

"Hyping imaginary military successes and attributing unreal intentions to the opponent were designed for domestic use—to convince the compatriots that the Azerbaijani army is capable not only of backtracking, and that the measures taken by the Azerbaijani leadership are fruitful," according to the statement.

Meanwhile, a source close to the Azerbaijani president told INTERFAX that fighting along the border of the Beilagan district continued today. Azerbaijani units repelled Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians' attempts to develop their offensive on the Beilagan district center situated in the south west of the republic.

The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry maintains that Armenian units attempted to break through the front line between the Fizuli and Beilagan districts. Fighting was going on along a 30-kilometer stretch of the front line. Over 200 Armenian troops reinforced with 19 tanks and personnel carriers took part in the offensive.

The Azerbaijani army repelled the attack seizing one of the Armenian tanks as a trophy.

The ministry said shelling the district center of Beilagan all day with "Grad" rocket launchers left civilian victims and caused heavy damages.

Army Repulses Fizuli Offensive

LD1712165093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1435 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent Gekchekkhanum Tagiyeva]

[Text] Baku, 17 Dec—Azerbaijan's Defense Ministry today reported a fresh attempt by the Armenian armed forces to break through the Azerbaijani Army's defenses in the eastern part of the Fizuli region. The ministry said that at noon yesterday "Armenian infantry and armor launched an offensive on a more than 30-km wide section of the front in an attempt to break through to Beylaganskiy Rayon from three separate directions." At the same time, Grad launchers opened fire on Beylagan, the rayon center, causing casualties among the population. The defense ministry said several hundred men, 15 tanks, and four infantry fighting vehicles took part in the offensive, which were completely repulsed by 1830 hours local time.

Shelling of Azerbaijani national army positions in the Terter sector was also reported.

Reconnaissance Operations Said Foiled

NC1712195793 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] The Azerbaijan Ministry of National Security Border Guards Administration Press Service has informed an AZERTAC correspondent that our republic's border guards foiled an attempt by the Armenians to carry out reconnaissance operations close to [words indistinct] in Fizulinskiy Rayon on 16 December. The correspondent was also informed that several individuals, who tried to violate our state border in the vicinity of Mikailly in Dzhalalabadskiy Rayon and Mikailly in Bilesuvarskiy Rayon, were captured. However, several others were able to cross the border.

Georgia

Abkhaz Defense Minister on Latest Incidents

LD1912143593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1340 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] The Georgian troops crossed the Inguri River that separates Georgia and Abkhazia on December 18 evening. However, they were forced out by the Abkhazian defense troops on December 19 morning. This was announced to Interfax by the Abkhazian Defense Ministry. According to the same sources, the hostilities near the bridge and the hydro electric power station have continued over the whole night.

Abkhazian Defense Minister, Sultan Sosnaliev [name as received] announced to Interfax that in the Abkhazian units there were 2 persons killed and several wounded. He put the loss of the Georgian troops at 25 people killed and wounded. For the present moment the troops which had launched the attack retreated to the region of Zugdidi.

Earlier, Georgia refuted the statement of the Abkhazian party concerning the concentration of the Georgian troops near the Inguri River.

Despite the night incident Abkhazia still hopes that the exchange of prisoners will take place.

Chairman of the Commission on the Problems of Servicemen, Beslan Kobakhia announced to Interfax that the group of Georgian military prisoners had been transported to the Abkhazian region of Gali near the Inguri River on Sunday, as it had been arranged. "If the situation allows the exchange will take place," Kobakhia said.

In accordance with the agreement reached at the negotiations in Geneva the exchange of prisoners between Georgia and Abkhazia was to take place on December 19. The Abkhazian party intended to release 12 Georgian military prisoners.

Press Center Denies Abkhaz Report

LD1912174393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] The Georgian Defense Ministry's press center has denied the Abkhaz side's report of armed clashes between Georgian and Abkhaz armed formations in the region of the Inguri river on Sunday. A spokesman for the press center told INTERFAX there were no hostilities between the opposing sides either on Sunday or on any of the preceding days.

The Abkhaz side's report said that Georgian formations last night crossed the Inguri River, and that the fighting continued throughout the night.

Prisoners Exchanged; Georgian-Abkhaz Front Quiet

Both Sides Release POW's

LD2012113893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1054 GMT 20 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Dzhibuti]

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—On Sunday the bridge over the Inguri river, which serves as the dividing line between Georgian troops and the break-away republic of Abkhazia, was the scene of a prisoner exchange between the two conflicting sides. The exchange agreement had been earlier worked out in Geneva as part of a gradual settlement of the conflict. The Georgians gave up seven people, and the Abkhazians 12. In a war that shows little mercy, the two sides have not taken any more prisoners than those.

On Monday, a representative from the Georgian Defence Ministry's press center denied reports that government troops mounted an offensive into the Abkhazian district of Galsk on Sunday. According to the press center there have been no military movements in that area of late.

More POW's To Be Exchanged

LD1912164993 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Georgia and Abkhazia today exchanged war prisoners in keeping with the Geneva accords to regulate the conflict in Abkhazia. The deputy chairman of the Georgian commission involved in the studies of the prisoners of war problem, Pad Zakarashvili, said that all Georgian war prisoners will be exchanged for all Abkhazian war prisoners. [passage omitted]

Embassy Holds News Conference on Abkhaz Talks

LD1712213693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1846 GMT 17 Dec 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Dzhibuti]

[Text] Moscow December 17 TASS—The implementation of the Geneva memorandum may become the basis for efficient Georgian-Abkhazian consultations and negotiations on political status of Abkhazia, a news conference at the Georgian Embassy in Moscow was told today.

The news conference speakers described as guarantees for the memorandum implementation the termination of combat operations and ethnic cleansing and creation of conditions for the return of refugees.

Georgia hopes that further Russian mediation with participation of CSCE will enable settlement in Abkhazia, deputy head of the Georgian state head's staff Irakly Machavariani told correspondents.

Shevardnadze Acts To Stabilize Financial System

Issues Anticrisis Decree

LD1912171593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, chief of state and chairman of the Georgian parliament, yesterday issued a decree on overcoming the crisis in the country and on a stabilization program. It says in particular:

The interim program for macroeconomic stabilization and system changes [sistemuri tsvlilebebi] in the Republic of Georgia, adopted by the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers on 24 February 1993, the timetable adopted on (?4) June 1993 for the implementation of this program, and the laws and legislative acts necessary to create the legal foundations for its implementation have not been properly drafted and fulfilled.

In effect, the plan for the implementation of economic reform adopted by the Cabinet of Ministers in 1993 is not being carried out. The economic and financial crisis is deepening, hyperinflation is becoming worse, unemployment is rising, and the coupon, the level of output, and the standard of living are falling sharply.

In view of all this, the decree issues the appropriate republican ministries, agencies, corporations, concerns, committees, departments, and other government structures with specific directives requiring them to ensure fast improvement in their spheres.

The decree says that in drafting the above-mentioned anticrisis program and the indicative plan for socioeconomic development in the Republic of Georgia, maximum consideration must be given to the recommendations relating to developing country status made by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the European Community, and other international organizations.

'Urgent Measures' Reviewed

LD1812195393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1744 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] Georgia's government and head of state Eduard Shevardnadze started consideration and confirmation of the state budget for 1993 at their extraordinary session. According to official data made public by the Republic's government, budget deficit over 9 months of this year has been 29.5%, expenditures constituted 158.4 billion coupons with the incomes totalling 122.5 billion coupons.

However, since this September the National Bank of Georgia has undertaken two great emission operations amounting to 1 trillion coupons which have been used to compensate increased budget expenditures and have caused sharpening of negative processes in the republic's economy. In particular, inflation rate has reached 100% a month, industrial enterprises use only one third of their capacity, in December exchange rate of Georgian national currency dropped to 57,375 Georgian coupons per dollar compared with 20,000 coupons per dollar this mid-October.

To implement urgent measures to stabilize the country's financial system Shevardnadze was forced to make a decision to increase discount rate of the National Bank's credits from 40% to 300%, the highest one among the republics of the former USSR, and to temporary ban cash account between legal entities.

In their interview with Interfax, experts expressed supposition that the Georgian government would confront a very difficult discussion of the state budget in the parliament.

Government Rejects Finance Ministry's Draft Budget

LD1912150793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1340 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] The Georgian government after a special meeting on Saturday turned down the finance ministry's draft budget for the first quarter of next year. A special commission will not be set up to try to amend it by December 25.

Government experts say the draft providing for an 87 percent budget deficit reflects the real state of the economy, now in deep crisis. Planned revenues and spending run at 216, 6 Bn and 1, 7 trillion coupons respectively.

Defence spending reaches more than 860 Bn coupons, four times up on planned revenues, compared to only 175.3 Bn coupons allocated for social security and culture.

The local budget deficit may run at 204,7 Bn coupons to bring the country's total to more than 2.7 trillion coupons.

In the meantime, President of the National Bank Nodar Javakhishvili says that even that figure is not final. As monthly inflation mounts by more than 60 percent, Georgia's budget deficit may increase up to 6 trillion coupons.

The government had agreed with Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia's view saying that in no way such a budget should approved.

The government had endorsed the fulfillment of the 1992 budget whose earnings and spending ran at about Rbl 47 Bn and Rbl 45 Bn respectively.

The deficit in the nine months of this year is put at 29.5 percent.

Estonia

Meri: Meeting With Yeltsin 'Must Take Place'

LD1912161193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] For over two months efforts to arrange a meeting between Estonian President Lennart Meri and the Russian president have been coming up against delays, POSTFACTUM news agency reports. Even an approximate date for the meeting has not yet been fixed.

However, Mr. Meri has declared that he, personally, has reason to be confident that this meeting must take place. Russia's reputation has suffered considerably as a result of the recent elections, he said. Yeltsin needs now to prove to the world that Russia will stay loyal to international law and civilized forms of relations with other states. The signing very soon of a treaty on the withdrawal of Russian troops from Estonia will provide Russia with such an opportunity, in Lennart Meri's opinion. That gesture will dispel the atmosphere of alarm and disappointment resulting from the election results, he believes.

That was the opinion of the Estonian leader, Lennart Meri.

U.S. Ambassador Ready To Meet Parliament Head

WS1712154693 Tallinn BNS in English 1416 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Tallinn, Dec 17, BNS—U.S. Ambassador to Estonia Robert Frasure will be pleased to meet with Ulo Nugis, the chairman of the Estonian parliament, at a time convenient for him, the U.S. Embassy in Tallinn informed BNS. The embassy, too, has requested a meeting with Nugis.

The need for the meeting stems from Nugis' criticism of Frasure's conduct during his recent visit to Narva.

In an interview to the Tartu-based POSTIMEES daily, Nugis said he was astonished that the American ambassador met first with the former leaders of the city, Vladimir Chuikin and Vladimir Mizhui, as well as with Yuri Mishin, the leader of the Union of Russian Citizens of Narva, and only then with the newly elected city leadership.

If an Estonian diplomat visiting a foreign country had given preference to some politician "unacceptable" to the leaders of that country, he would have been recalled the very next day, Nugis claimed.

Nugis promised he would take the first available opportunity to personally ask Frasure "what exactly he had in mind by showing such preferences."

Latvia

20 Dec Talks With Russia Postponed Until Jan

LD1912221093 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 2100 GMT 19 Dec 93

[Text] A regular round of the Latvian-Russian talks scheduled to begin in Moscow on 20 December has been postponed at the initiative of the Russian side. Delegations will most probably meet again in January next year.

According to Sergey Zotov, head of the Russian delegation, the main topic for the talks will be the issue of the legal status of Russia's military facility at Skrunda. Zotov also noted that if this issue is not solved in a way acceptable to Russia, then the Russian side will not be able to confirm its readiness to withdraw troops from Latvia by 31 August next year and give up two strategic facilities in Ventspils and Liepaja which Russia has proposed to keep for another five (?to six years).

Ulmanis, Andrejevs React

LD1712212193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1646 GMT 17 Dec 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: Andrei Pershin, Andrey Petrovsky, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] In an interview with INTERFAX, President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia has described as "regrettable" a statement on the cancellation of the next round of bilateral negotiations by Sergey Zotov, the chief Russian negotiator to the talks.

He said he hoped that Zotov's statement did not reflect the view of the entire Russian government, nor was it the opinion of Russian democratic forces. He also voiced Latvia's desire to negotiate through compromise with its eastern neighbor.

On the fate of the Skrunda radar, Ulmanis said the two countries had to agree on the terms of further operation in Latvia.

"We must be absolutely sure that the Skrunda station is necessary to guarantee global security," the president stressed.

Commenting on Zotov's warning that Russia may refuse to complete its troops withdrawal by August 31, 1994, Ulmanis noted that "such threats are meaningless for us, and at best we shrug them off."

He agrees that Russia's latest move has nothing to do with the national-radicals election victory and rules out the possibility of "inexperienced politician dancing to someone's tune in Russia."

Ulmanis reiterated his readiness to meet his Russian counterpart. "I wish that Latvia and Russia could start trusting each other. But it is for the stronger side to get things moving. If Russia displays such an approach, we will continue negotiations under any circumstances. Their discontinuation would be counterproductive for Latvia and Russia alike," he declared.

Nor does Latvia's Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs feel that Zotov's statement mirrors Moscow's position on troops withdrawal from the republic. He told an INTERFAX interviewer that his feeling was borne out by a report he'd received from Moscow on December 16. However, he declined to identify the source of this information.

Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs, for his part, recalls that this was not the first such statement by Zotov. But his remarks, he said, should not be traced to the outcome of the parliamentary elections in Russia. In his opinion, the Skrunda radar should be the key issue at a Latvian-Russian summit.

Ulmanis Discusses Baltic Presidents' Meeting

LD1712201793 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Latvian State President Guntis Ulmanis met with journalists today. The news conference was devoted to the results of the meeting between the presidents of the three Baltic countries.

[Begin Ulmanis recording] During the talks we touched on four questions. All of these questions are to a greater or lesser extent connected with the elections in Russia. We came to the conclusion that life is merciless, but nevertheless there is nothing that cannot be turned to the good, and, viewed normally, may be seen not as a tragedy but simply what has to be worked on and (?has to be seen to work).

First, we assessed the state of our security and we came out, at the initiative of the Latvian side, with a statement for NATO, emphasizing the wish of the three Baltic countries to work within the NATO framework, and we called on the NATO organization to accept our appeal as our wish, and our desire for future practical action. This practical action—what does it mean? We must know NATO's view of our chances of joining it, we must know our own chances, and yet we must work out this concept of security for all the countries, which could allow our countries to survive in a stable way. This desire to join the NATO is not an attempt to turn to some other country, but it is a question of stabilizing the security of the three Baltic countries. I very much ask you to emphasize this aspect too, so that it does not become emphasized as some sort of one-time thing or a demonstrative act against something.

A second question: I presented a proposal on approaching the Nordic countries, on embarking on the unity of the Three Plus Five, and we signed a joint statement in which we expressed the desire for the foreign ministers of the Baltic and Nordic countries to meet in the near future and work out a program of practical action on the process of convergence between the Nordic and Baltic countries.

The third document was connected with the deepening of practical activity by the presidents, and we resolved to set up a Presidential Council, in which from each state persons designated by the presidents of each state would be included. In the near future they must work out the status, statutes, and program of the Presidential Council, and our future meetings must be more or less programed, deeper in practice.

And the fourth document was about the international and strategic research institute, (BASIS). This institute was set up on the initiative of the Estonian side, and in this institute visible politicians of the world are urged to act in its integral council, and the institute has set up a working group. At present the designated director is (Tarmak), from the Estonian side, and the deputy directors of this institute will be from Lithuania and from Latvia. The task of the institute is, no less than twice a year to survey the strategic questions in political development that are linked to the future destiny of the three Baltic countries. I want to underscore that there is no panic in these three countries because of the elections in Russia. We discussed in detail all the possible options. We will attentively follow how the Russian parliament starts to function. At this time I do not know whether Mr. Zhirinovskiy has been allotted any post, or anything about the allocation of posts in Russia. Obviously, this course is now starting with great effort, and it seems to me that this was a good warning to the democratic forces in Russia, in the first instance; and yet these Russian democratic forces have a fairly clear majority in parliament. I hope for their energy and their sense, and that they will take the initiative into their hands. But those are only our ideas, our wishes.

On the other hand, it is a signal that makes us think seriously about what extreme nationalism can lead to, and how it has now happened in Russia. I personally explain it, too, as an indication of the people's despair, in both the economic and the political sense, and they chose this step because the principle is probably this: Anything new, because the old no longer satisfies us. [end recording]

Denies Wish To Meet Zhirinovskiy

LD1712214193 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Reports of a possible meeting between Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Russian Liberal-Democratic Party, are untrue. This was stated at a news conference today by Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis. I have no wish to meet with Mr. Zhirinovsky, he said. Ulmanis went on to inform journalists about the meeting of the presidents of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia in Tallinn.

Ulmanis also reported how the applications for clemency to the state president by condemned persons are reviewed. Only a few of the 200 such appeals have been granted. Unfortunately, the nature of the crimes committed by the sentenced people is in general too serious.

Russian Army Assets Plundered Before Latvia Claims Them

WS2012123693 Tallinn BNS in English 1628 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Riga, Dec 17, BNS - The Latvian Saeima (parliament) commission which is investigating the activities of a preceding commission told parliament that various cooperative and other types of businesses are often set up using the property of the Russian Army, typically without clearing it with local or central authorities.

Odisseus Kostandis, a commission member, said that journalists seem to have been right in reporting that the Software House Riga company had taken over most of the Russian Army's assets. That company operates a ship repair

yard in the port town of Liepaja, three buildings that used to be the property of KGB's border guards in Riga.

Roberts Milbergs, the commission chairman, said that the same was true of the property of the banned Latvian Communist Party. Important documents are destroyed and state property is plundered. The reporting on the documents which are either transferred or missing is faulty. Criminal proceedings have not been opened against those who have hidden or destroyed documents. Economic losses incurred in the taking over of army assets have not been calculated, criminal investigation against those guilty of it has not begun.

Commission members said that they could not say anything about the way the Finance Ministry supervises the distribution and use of foreign credits because the ministry had not responded to numerous inquiries.

Janis Jurkans, former foreign minister who is now heading the Concord parliamentary group, could not say what happened to the money he had received from the Latvian embassy in Washington and Ivars Godmanis, former prime minister, failed to report on his activities in January and August 1991 or on the activity of the KGB disbanding commission. The current Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs also refused to answer the commission's questions.

East European Coalition Urges Tougher U.S. Stance on Russia

WS2012124493 Tallinn BNS in English 1003 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] Riga, Dec 17, BNS - The U.S.-based East-European's Coalition will try to affect the United States' stance on Russia and East European countries, Martins Zvaners, a spokesman for the American-Latvians' Association, told BNS.

The new Middle and East European democracies are put in jeopardy by the resurgent imperialism in Russia that manifests itself in Russia's attempts to regain of its influence in the former Soviet republics and Eastern Europe, said participants of the coalition's Dec. 6 meeting.

The coalition will inform U.S. President Bill Clinton about its displeasure at the present U.S. foreign policies before Clinton tours Russia in January.

The present U.S. position partly encourages Russian imperialistic policies, the participants said. Some media draw links between the United States' present "strategic sympathy" toward Russia and the 1945 Yalta agreement.

The Dec. 16 conference cited the U.S. State Secretary Warren Christopher as saying that the United States could not afford to interfere with Russia's attempts of neo-containment.

The conference's participants said Christopher's words could be interpreted in Moscow as an indirect permission to implement its imperialistic aspirations.

The East-European's Coalition cannot fail to attract the attention of U.S. leaders because the coalition represents 8.5 percent of American citizens, the spokesman said.

Ukrainians 'Not Part of Russian Minority'

WS1712143893 Riga LETA in English 1155 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Riga, December 17 (LETA)—On Wednesday [15 December], the Latvian Minister of Education, Culture and Science Janis Vaivads and the Latvian State Minister of Culture, Janis Dripe, met with the temporary Charge d'Affaires of Ukraine to Latvia, Vladimir Chorny, and the Ukrainian Embassy's First Secretary, Sergey Vasilyev. According to ministry's press service, the questions of cooperation in the spheres of culture, education and science were discussed. After the signing of a packet of international documents this cooperation between Latvia and Ukraine may become more effective.

Vladimir Chorny positively evaluated the work of the Ukrainian school in Latvia. However, the Embassy wishes the school was more independent. According to the Ukrainian diplomats the school could promote to a more successful integration of Ukrainians residing in Latvia in the Latvian community. Most 90 thousand Ukrainians who live in Latvia would like to remain there and connect their lives with Latvia. The Ukrainian Embassy in Riga believes that Ukrainians residing in Latvia make up a separate minority and do not belong to the so-called Russian-speaking population.

Vladimir Chorny criticized Russian newspapers in Latvia. He spoke of the fact that, during the visit of the Ukrainian parliamentary delegation to Latvia, the Russian press in Latvia had neither informed about the establishment of bilateral relations between Latvia and Ukraine nor about the Ukrainian President, Leonid Kravchuk's, idea concerning coordination of positions of the Baltic States and the Black Sea region in questions of security.

Saeima Commission Decides Army Needs Improvement

WS1712144493 Riga LETA in English 1155 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Riga, December 17 (LETA)—The Latvian Army needs reorganization. This was the conclusion of the Saeima [parliament] commission on the check up of the Latvian Defence Forces, Odisejs Kostanda, the chairman of the commission, and deputy Oskars Grigs stated at a press conference, held on Thursday [16 December], that the registered results of the commission according to actually all indices were unencouraging. The Latvian Defence Forces are not ready to resist even the equal number of enemies. At present, a process of an active formation of the army bureaucracy is taking place in Latvia. Each structure is forming other subordinate structures with duplicating functions. It was stated at the press conference that only one staff is necessary instead of the existing at present several headquarters.

The fact is paradoxical, but the Latvian Army actually trains personnel for commercial structures, said Grigs, adding that almost all officers from the intelligence landing battalion intend to guard private structures after their discharge (after they have been transferred to the reserve). However, they could work as instructors in people's volunteer corps or become officers of frontier guards. It was also stated at the press conference that officers who have undergone training in the Soviet Army are not able to diverge from its degenerating system.

Defense Chief Refutes Findings

WS2012115593 Tallinn BNS in English 1628 GMT 17 Dec 93

[Text] Riga, Dec 17, BNS - The Latvian Saeima (parliament) committee lacked evidence to reproach the Defense Forces for inefficiency like it recently did, Commander Dainis Turlais said Friday [17 December].

Turlais stressed that the army did all it could to perform the test excercise on time but he said that officers who lived ouside Riga were physically unable to reach their units earlier than they did.

The commander recognized the facts in the committee's survey as true and promised to improve the situation. He said, however, that "one should not judge a country's defense forces in the level of housewives."

In addition, the Saeima committee "refused to see" what the national army achieved in two years of the country's independence.

Turlais blamed the poor living conditions of soldiers and officers on the neglect of state institutions. In his words, the government completely failed to budget for the next year's defense needs.

A soldier cannot be good at shooting if he can afford to spend five cartridges a year, Turlais said. For comparison, a German soldier uses 800 cartridges and a British soldier—1,000 cartridges a year, Turlais said.

As reported, the committee criticized the combat-readiness, the military discipline, shooting skills and physical training of Latvian soldiers after the Nov. 22-30 spot check in military units.

Latvian Defense Forces Cmdr. Dainis Turlais arrived in his post 50 minutes after a training alarm was announced, the committee said.

Three staff officers came more than an hour later, while some others "rushed in" with a four hour delay. The reconnaisance chief and several senior officers totally neglected the alarm.

The group also found serious violations of discipline with the Defense Forces, resulting in 21 deaths in 21 months.

Poll Results Provide Rating of Officials

WS1712144193 Riga LETA in English 1155 GMT 17 Dec 93

[From "The Latvian Press Review"]

[Text] Riga, December 17 (LETA)—The paper "NEATKARIGA CINA" had published a regular government rating, including also Einars Repse, the president of the Bank of Latvia. 1,017 persons were questioned, 55.6 percent of them were Latvians. The results obtained by the poll are as follows: Repse with 27.9 points still is a favourite of both Latvian and non-Latvian communities. The Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs was the runner-up (23.0) due to the strong support of the Latvians (43.4) as non-Latvians tended to dislike him (-11.3) as well as the rest of ministers while the Latvians felt positive not only about Andrejevs but also Interior Minister Girts Kristovskis (10.8) and Defence Minister Valdis Pavlovskis (10.1). Traditionally enough, Janis Kinna, the agricultural minister, and Ojars Kehris, the economy minister, were regarded as the cabinet failures. The total cabinet rating was 23.0 which is 3.4 less than the previous rating. The experts who conducted the poll underlined that it was carried out before the parliamentary elections in Russia. The responsibility of the cabinet and difficulties it faces would grow more complicated due to the likely strain in foreign policy.

Lithuania

Security, Not NATO Membership, Primary Concern

WS2012130493 Tallinn BNS in English 1003 GMT 18 Dec 93

[Text] Vilnius, Dec 17, BNS - Security guarantees but not NATO membership are Lithuania's primary interest, said Lithuanian Defense Minister Linas Linkevicius.

"It is important that the problem of our country's security rises to an international level," he told the LIETUVOS RYTAS newspaper.

Linkevicius considers reasonable the idea to create a battalion of Baltic peacekeeping forces, which would consist of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian blue helmets.

According to unofficial reports, Lithuania recently proposed to train such a battalion at a former Soviet base on Latvian territory.

Linkevicius said the step would be a "nice example" of cooperation between the three Baltic states and would earn "political capital on a world scale" for approaching collective security structures.

LDDP Deputy Chief Views Political Consensus

WS1712091593 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 4 Dec 93 No. 236 p 5

[Article by Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party Deputy Chairman Gediminas Kirkilas: "The Maturing of the Opposition"]

[Excerpts] I have repeatedly written that the worst sign of our political life is the lack of a normal political discussion. Both sides are accusing each other in impolite disputes. Since the opponent's every proposal or statement is mistrusted, the discussion becomes impossible. Almost a reflex-like reaction to any opponent's proposal—"if they are proposing something, we must search for some deception or dishonesty here"—only weakens the country's political potential. This is a sad legacy of the former government of "enemy searchers," and its overcoming will require time and effort. We can say that this situation emerged due to a low political culture or the "Soviet legacy." I think, however, that much depends on our own desires and political tolerance. By the way, unlike the former Supreme Council majority, the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDDP] adheres to such a position. This is a principal of our electoral and party program. While in the opposition, the LDDP backed the positive, in our understanding, moves of the former ruling force. Although we have not yet received a similar response, I think that this principle is correct. Tolerance is a sign of the powerful, while mistrust—of the weak. [passage omitted]

One reader has unexpectedly responded to my article "Who Rules Lithuania?" He writes that we should not lecture the opposition because it may learn the lesson.... I do not agree with this, because in a democratic system, power is comprised of the interaction between the ruling force and the opposition rather than of the rulers alone. The latter have more powers and responsibilities, p[illegible] which also rests with the opposition. It is a civilize[illegible] cultured argument between the ruling force and the o[illegible]sition that defines democratic decisions. [passage omitted]

Recently the centrist newspaper ATGIMIMAS carried some suggestions that the boycott against the LDDP gave nothing, and that the centrists were changing their position. True, A. Krupavicius is not an official representative of the Centrist Movement. However, his reflections (in ATGIMIMAS' issue No. 47, "Lithuania, Where Are You Going?") may partly reflect the position of this movement. A. Krupavicius believes that the LDDP could offer a democratic consensus to its political rivals anew (!?). He claims that LDDP's former proposals (before the Seimas elections and after them) were "only a bare idea of concord," and that "no political mechanism for the implementation of a democratic consensus was offered." I think that such a mechanism has worked in all democracies for a long time, and a political scientist should be aware of that. This mechanism is a round table of political parties. [passage omitted]

It is obvious that some of the oppositional parties have realized that after forming the government, the LDDP bravely assumed all responsibility for the future of the country and managed to gradually stabilize the economy and the general situation. It is for this reason alone that those parties would like to participate in this process [reference to a round table] immediately. They are beginning to understand that people will ask them during the next elections: "Gentlemen, what have you accomplished except a 'bare criticism of the LDDP?'" Even being aware of such a motivation, we must respond to their initiative. **Power is not a goal in itself for the LDDP, and we will cooperate with those parties which will understand the responsibility for Lithuania's fate.**

Certainly, A. Krupavicius does not avoid the traditional curses of the LDDP for its past, as well as the conjectures about the "LDDP's idleness" and so on. However, the progress is evident, and even certain elements of self-criticism are emerging—the centrist forces did not draw any essential conclusions from the lesson of the Seimas elections, and the like. [passage omitted]

It is the normalization of the political, social, and psychological situation that serves as a basis for cooperation among the parties. The recent meeting between the right-wing parties and Prime Minister A. Slezevicius began discussing the spheres of cooperation among the parties. It has been agreed that the parties will appoint experts for different areas of action (for example, for joining NATO, relations with Russia, and so on). Although our right-wing parties are still burdened with an actual and conceived mistrust of the LDDP, nevertheless, this is a step forward. Certainly, there are no guarantees that some political prejudices will not hamper this process, but a start has been made.

We must distinguish between the colors of the opposition in the current situation. The Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives) [TS] is one thing, while the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, the Movement for National Progress, and the Centrist Movement is another issue. The parties' influence in the Seimas [parliament] and their prospects in the future political process are different. Eventually, there are unequal possibilities of partnership, that is, what concessions can be made by us and, for example, by the rightists. Further cooperation with the TS is unlikely, if the latter continues to incite people and encourage artificial acts of "social protest" with the same "berets" [reference to elderly women wearing berets who usually participate in such protests] who only perform different roles.... Social protests are deliberately politicized, although their organizers would like to deny this. This is obvious from the following paradox: The farmers' strike is supported by the Workers' Union. Do workers speak out for higher food prices? This would occur, if the government implemented the strikers' demands unconditionally. [passage omitted]

Lithuania's situation is extremely complicated, particularly the geopolitical one. The requirement of the opposition to openly report on the process of talks with foreign countries is absurd. I have not heard that such total openness has ever been applied in diplomacy. The latter has its own rules that are observed by all countries. Agreements are either ratified or rejected by legislatures. Negotiations themselves are confidential issues. Our opposition is constantly escalating mistrust, as though it were the only guarantor! The responsibility for foreign policy rests with the LDDP government and the president who are accountable to their constituents rather than the opposition. The latter should submit proposals, criticize, and

explain to their constituents that they would resolve the problems better. The latest statements by the opposition demand the uncovering of national foreign policy principles. May I ask the esteemed members of the opposition which countries "have revealed" such principles, and what they are like? This is just another, and a slightly dishonest, political game seeking to discredit the LDDP and arouse people's doubts that the LDDP "may again push Lithuania into the arms of the Russian empire" and so on.

It is annoying that we must waste so much time explaining such ordinary political issues. However, political culture is gradually beginning to work, and the opposition is learning to work. This means better performance for the majority and gains for democracy.

Former Member Deems LDDP Actions 'Threat to Democracy'

WS2012134993 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 4 Dec 93 No. 235 p 2

[Interview with Vytautas Bubnys, former member of the LDDP Seimas faction, by Ruta Grineviciute; place and date not given: "The Militant Ones Are Destroying LDDP's Unity"]

[Text] "My party is Lithuania, and I do not intend to hold onto the skirt of any other party"—this is how writer and Seimas [parliament] Deputy Vytautas Bubnys used to talk before the elections. Last Thursday [2 December], he kept his promise and left the faction of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDDP]. V. Bubnys does not intend to join any other Seimas faction and warns of a threat to democracy that is beginning to emerge from the LDDP. The militant Seimas deputy has answered several questions by RESPUBLIKA reporter Ruta Grineviciute.

[Grineviciute] **How would you diagnose the disease in the LDDP faction? Will the latter's split continue?**

[Bubnys] I only know that there has been a desire to have a coalition of three groups since the very beginning of the Seimas work. Three forces wanted to set up their groups—the LDDP, the Agrarian Workers' Union, and the Forum of Lithuania's Future [LAF]. I used to say after the elections that we had to establish a separate LAF faction. In the opinion of LDDP leaders, however, our forces must not be divided. The Seimas Statute adopted after the presidential elections prevented the emergence of new factions. I do not discard the possibility that the collapse of our faction will continue.

[Grineviciute] **Is this good?**

[Bubnys] I think that this is beneficial to democracy, because now the fate of all laws is being decided in the LDDP faction or party headquarters.

[Grineviciute] **What is responsible for the inertness or, in your words, the Olympian calm of the LDDP faction?**

[Bubnys] I believe that this calm was decided by the people who ran for the legislature with only one goal—to receive posts in the government and stay there as long as possible by coordinating everything with the party and bothering no one. This can be justified in countries with developed economies and legal systems. However, we are only building a republic, which requires much responsibility and persistence.

A militant wing (a program group lead by V. Petkevicius) has emerged in our faction. The militant ones are taking the upper hand in the faction and the party. Although there is no threat of returning to the past, this is not favorable to democracy. I have always been afraid of one person imposing his or her thinking on others.

Editorial Predicts Decline of Unity in LDDP Faction

WS2012142793 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 7 Dec 93 No. 236 p

[Editorial: "LDDP Will Have To Share Its Powers"]

[Text] The Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDDP] paid a high price for unity. The LDDP faction in the Seimas [parliament] was formed on the basis of the preelection coalition comprising the LDDP proper, the Agrarian Workers' Union, and the Forum of Lithuania's Future [LAF]. There had to be more compromises in order to make this voting majority last the entire year. The first and, probably, greatest compromises were made in the very beginning—while forming the government. For example, the LAF's appetite was appeased temporarily by appointing J. Veselka minister of economy. Farmers were promised a key role in defining the LDDP agricultural policy, while the LDDP faction had to guarantee the approval of their decisions in the Seimas.

Thus far, only some individuals have left the faction. Their principal argument is that individual opinions are ignored. The emergence of the aggressive "program group" wing has evoked the broadest negative reaction. Some members of the LDDP faction who wished to remain anonymous have told RESPUBLIKA that this group headed by V. Petkevicius often does not heed the basic norms of ethics. In the opinion of most LDDP members, this is how this group "dealt" with the party's Deputy Chairman G. Kirkilas. "Many members of the LDDP faction keep silent today in fear that someone may pour a bucket of mud on them," said one independent Seimas deputy to RESPUBLIKA. He called the prevailing atmosphere in the faction that of moral terror.

The long-sighted LDDP strategists tried to preserve the unity of the faction while drafting the Seimas statute which states that factions can be set up only according to blocs of political forces emerging as winners in the elections. The Constitutional Court, which recognized this norm as unconstitutional, also propelled the collapse of the faction. Thus, one can predict today that the "dictatorship" of the Seimas majority will continue to decline. The LDDP is trying to halt this collapse by applying the same antidote—appointing the greatest troublemakers to high posts. Most probably, it is not only competence that decided why V. Zimnickas, a nominee of the LAF in the elections, was recently appointed chairman of the Economic Committee.